Inequality, Education and the Social Sciences: The Historical Reproduction of Inequalities through Secondary Education in India and Germany

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Zusammenfassung

Die konzeptionelle Verbindung zwischen Bildung und Gesellschaft, die im 19. Jahrhundert deutlich gemacht und wissenschaftlich begründet wurde, wird oft als selbstverständlich betrachtet. Diese veraltete Verbindung bildete aber die Basis für Bildungsreformen im Sekundärbereich in Deutschland und Indien in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Diese Arbeit unternimmt den Versuch, zum Verständnis dieser Verzögerung zwischen den Ideen und den Reformen, die sie einrahmten, beizutragen, indem sie eine geeignete Theorie der Verbindung zwischen Bildung und einer komplexen Gesellschaft aufstellt. Grundsätzliche Annäherungen an Gesellschaft und Bildung treten in Dialog mit post-kolonialen und kritischen Theorien. Universalistische Annahmen werden problematisiert, und eine offene Lösung für die Vorstellung zukünftiger Reformen wird präsentiert. Nationale Bildungsreformen in Indien und Deutschland nach ihren „Critical Junctures“ von 1947/1945 werden eingehend und chronologisch verglichen, um einen spezifischen Charakter historisch- und bildungs-bedingter Reproduktion beider Länder herauszuarbeiten sowie einen gemeinsamen Lernprozess zu ermöglichen. Abschließend wird eine Lösung des Problems in der Form offener Bildung präsentiert. Bildung als öffentliches Gut muss nicht zwangsläufig nur auf soziale Probleme reagieren, stattdessen kann sie verändert werden, um sozialen Wandel voran zu treiben.

Schlagwörter: critical juncture, Deutschland, Indien, höhere Schulbildung, Reform, Geschichte, kritische Theorie

Abstract

The conceptual link between education and society, forged in the 19th Century, is often taken for granted. This seemingly outdated connection, however, has guided reforms in secondary education in India and Germany throughout the second half of the 20th Century. This study attempts to understand this lag between underlying ideas and the reforms they framed by synthesizing a viable theory for imagining the connection between education and a complex society. Foundational approaches to society and education are brought into dialogue with post-colonial and critical theories. Universalistic assumptions are problematized, and an open-ended solution for theorizing new connections is presented. National educational reforms in India and Germany subsequent to their critical junctures of 1947/1945 are exhaustively and chronologically compared in order to conceptualize a generic character of historical-educational reproduction for each country and to facilitate a process of mutual learning. Finally, a solution to the problems associated with educational reproduction is presented. Education as a public good does not need to simply be reactive to social problems. Instead, it can be reconfigured so as to drive social change.

Keywords: critical juncture, Germany, India, secondary education, reform, history, critical theory

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Any and all analytical or linguistic imperfections and mistakes that might appear in the course of what follows are mine and mine alone.

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School systems perform an obscured social role. They often espouse "rational", democratic and egalitarian ideas,[1] yet they propagate and naturalize social inequalities.[2] This reflects a broad crisis of imagination. Both India and Germany were presented with tremendous opportunities to reorient their respective post-independence and postwar approaches to secondary education.[3] Failing to do so, guiding principles based on highly problematic and even oppressive conceptions of the link between education and society became re-entrenched in both places. Subsequent reforms, no matter how well-meaning, have not moved beyond immediate concerns, namely the requirements of the division of labor in society.[4] By critically enumerating postwar and post-independence educational reforms and working to uncover education's reproductive functions,[5] a proactive way forward can be discovered. Education can realize its emancipatory potential.[6]

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[1] Chapter 3 explores the foundational ideas linking education and society.

[2] Chapter 4 examines how inequalities are propagated and naturalized via education.

[3] Chapter 5 analyzes the respective critical junctures through the lens of educational reform.

[4] Chapter 6 lays out reform measures subsequent to the critical junctures.

[5] Chapter 2 explains *how* this is to be done.

[6] Chapter 7 discusses additional challenges and points to a way forward.

Discussions about education have long been imbued with hope. Ask a social scientist what can be done to overcome a given social problem, and there is a good chance the answer – however ethereal – will touch on education. Education, on the one hand, is often presented as an all-encompassing solution; on the other hand, the problems inherent to education and all its entanglements with society, politics, economics and culture, are often neglected. This dissertation endeavors to understand how this contradiction is embodied in historical changes to the education systems and structures of two unlike nation-states, India and Germany. If education can be a panacea to myriad social problems, understanding how the structures of formal education have changed over time is integral to contemplating how the said structures can be changed in the future so as to enable formal education to change the world for the better. More to the point, conceptualizing just how social reproduction takes place via education is important if education is to be shorn of this less-than-admirable, illiberal quality.

The question to be answered can be rendered in its simplest and clearest form with the help of an as-yet-unanswered research question formulated by Meg Maguire (2010). In advocating for critical advancement in the field in her article, “Towards a Sociology of the Global Teacher”, she concludes by asking: “To what degree has education been conformed to the needs of the international/national marketplace?” (62). Although the question was formulated rhetorically and thus does not lend itself to a succinct answer, it is useful in that it represents a kind of meta-question through which other, more practicable questions can be approached. To that end, the research questions to be grappled with throughout the course of this dissertation will revolve around the same theme, albeit from a much more critical perspective. They are:

1. How has social inequality been historically reproduced through India's and Germany's education systems?
2. What are the theoretical and historical connections between the education systems and the societies of each country?
3. What “family resemblances” (Wittgenstein 2009: 36) do the education systems share?
4. Is it appropriate to evaluate the education systems strictly based on their connections to the market?
5. What can be learned, and what can be done?

The structure of the dissertation will be as follows: to begin, the rough grounds for a comparison of Germany and India and their education systems will be established, suggestions about what might be learned will be made and a review of extant studies related to comparative studies in education will be introduced (Chapter 1); second, methodological considerations will be contextualized (Chapter 2); third, connections will be drawn between foundational approaches to education and society (Chapter 3); fourth, the critical turn and its theoretical adjustments will be introduced and an appropriate imagination for the connection between society and education will be developed (Chapter 4); fifth, the approaches to education in India and Germany up to and including the years 1947 and 1945, respectively, will be explained (Chapter 5); sixth, reforms in India and Germany subsequent to their critical junctures will be enumerated (Chapter 6); and finally, the results of the study will be discussed (Chapter 7).

This statement implicates a broad phenomenon – conservatism – which is unique neither to a specific country nor to a specific set of institutions. This phenomenon can be defined as a conviction that historically established social and political processes are the most optimal or desirable ones. Understanding the roots of educational conservatism and setting them into relations with educational reforms is central to understanding how educational structures can be changed in order to dampen their effects on the reproduction of social inequalities. Each country has its own unique political, social and education systems – and even its own modernities. Locating and comparing historical pressure points in two wildly different countries can aid in the formation of an approach to studying educational transformation across the world. Educational conservatism in Germany harks back to at the very least the formation of the modern German state in the 19th Century; in India, because of the policy of destruction practiced by the British, educational conservatism can be traced to roughly the same period. The approaches to secondary education in each place needlessly reflect and carry with them cumbersome historical burdens. It is those who are funneled into undesirable or unvalued social roles via the education systems, however, who bear the brunt of these burdens.

1.1. Identifying Critical Junctures

In comparative historical studies, the identification of so-called critical junctures seems to be of equal importance to the actual describing of successive events. The search for meaning among the social debris of history dictates that a point of departure must be arrived at, a fuzzy point in the past during which important decisions were made that still impact the day-to-day functioning of society. The opinion of the author here is that this is dangerous in that it can lead to hyperbolic pronouncements, the enemy of clear-eyed analyses. Although there are myriad definitions of the term, critical juncture, it is perhaps most readily understood by following its most simplistic explanation. For this, Capoccia and Kelemen (2007) posit a definition for their own studies of path dependency: "*relatively* short periods of time during which there is a *substantially* heightened probability that agents' choices will affect the outcome of interest" (348, emphases in original). The qualifiers "relatively" and "substantially" are of particular importance to the discussion.

The study and comparison of critical junctures serve a somewhat confusing purpose, namely the identification of a moment in time during which the thrust of history *could have* gone in a different direction. While counterfactuals provide neat mental exercises and have given rise to a certain subgenre of bestselling literature, the futility of such endeavors in the face of anything approaching serious inquiry is readily apparent. Identifying a rough time period during which important decisions were made and attempting to grasp the varying tensions between ideas, people, geographies, demographics, religions and even cultures in order to understand how and why certain things transpired or did not transpire ought not slip into the vagaries of counter-factual rumination.

That grammar has its own form for expressions about the "hypothetical past" (in English, the dreaded third conditional) speaks to the idea that there is a deep-seated desire to go beyond understanding how things are, an admittedly facile point. The inherent problem with the counter-factual approach is that it is ipso facto endless, and sorting through the infinite possibilities to arrive at a few subjectively plausible ones, while perhaps interesting for one prone to mindless contemplation, is generally ridiculous. Questions like "What if Franz Ferdinand had stuck to the plan in Sarajevo?" and "What if the Germans had not let Lenin pass through Germany en route to Scandinavia and eventually Russia in 1917?" are

fascinating to consider, but because the answers to these questions are (thankfully) unknowable, they provide little to no value in the context of an historical analysis.

The identification of critical junctures, however, is important in that it lends narrative coherence and sets some kind of temporal limitation to a given historical analysis. This identification need not be a drawn out process. Arbitrariness is endemic to the endeavor, and arguments are not assigned points based on their being less or more arbitrary. Big events are more important than small events, even if small events beget big events. That being the case, imagining and defining critical junctures in the context of this project is simple. The critical junctures for Germany and India are in 1945 and 1947, respectively. Nazi Germany capitulated to the Allies in April 1945. India gained its independence from the United Kingdom in August 1947. The decisions made in the aftermath of these events shaped both places in innumerable ways. The point of this study is to analyze the ways in which the decisions made concerning secondary education, which itself cannot be viewed as entirely separate from the education system as a whole, have had an enduring effect on the relationship between society and education or, put differently, the role education has played in the shaping of society through its reproductive processes and qualities. Education needs to shed its reproductive, historical baggage.

The need to pinpoint a critical junction is tied to a greater problem in comparative studies, namely the identification of a *tertium comparationis*. Christian Steuerwald (2016) suggests that Weber and Durkheim relied on and championed the comparative approach in pioneering sociology as a stand-alone science (5), a point which, given the emphases both thinkers placed on the logic of comparison, comes as no surprise. Steuerwald, recognizing the epistemic impact of comparative studies on the genesis of the field, introduces a brief framework for suitable comparisons: first, only like objects ought to be compared (societies with societies or organizations with organizations but not societies with organizations); and second, objects of comparison must coincide with one another either geographically or temporally (5-6). "In this way, 15th Century French society can be compared to 21st Century French society or to 15th Century Portuguese society, but 15th Century French society cannot be compared to 21st Century Portuguese society" (6; translated by author). Although the social sciences should in principle be open to diverse and creative comparisons across time and space in hopes of deepening the collective understanding of how things are and have

come to be, this dissertation strives to follow the academic norms of the field, when appropriate.

Now that it has been established that the skeletal requirements for a comparative study have been met, it should be acknowledged that the pairing of Germany and India in a comparison is admittedly arbitrary when taken at face value. Germany is often described as a post-industrial state. India appears most often with the moniker "developing state", suggesting its industrial potential has heretofore been unrealized. Although the topic is nearly impossible to avoid given the weight of attention paid to it throughout the past half-century, the ideas of modernization and development are highly problematic in and of themselves, a topic to be explored later on.

1.2. Learning from a Comparison

India and Germany are much different places. Their economies, religions, linguistic properties, geographies, demographics, labor markets, social structures, etc., seem so much different, in fact, that one could rightly question the plausibility of a comparison of their approaches to secondary education. The comparison at hand, however, gains viability by and through the historical and contemporary similarities – or family resemblances[7] – of the countries and their education systems. Both nation-states have liberal constitutions, just as both are nominally democratic and capitalistic. History bequeathed both places a tremendous opportunity to remake their societies by, among other things, remaking their education systems in the wake of oppressive and violent eras, namely colonialism and nazism.

As will be seen, neither nation-state took full advantage of this opportunity, meaning the historical-educational structures of the eras of oppression were able to persist. Important to note here is that neither Germany in 1945 nor India in 1947 truly represented a *tabula rasa*.

[7] Ludwig Wittgenstein's (2009) concept provides a great deal more depth in a comparison by referring to intersections of different kinds of similarities. Two family members, for example, may speak, act and look differently, yet they may share a similar gait (Wittgenstein 2009: 36).

Priorities had to be set, populations needed to be reassured that they would receive basic services and, to put it bluntly, there were more important things to do than reconfigure education systems from the ground up. Solutions were improvised, and the resultant improvisations most generally followed the lines of the path of least resistance. This is symptomatic of a larger hiccough in thinking: people, up to and including policymakers, attempt to make sense of the present and reassure themselves about an unknowable future by relying on that which they already know. From an educational-social-historical perspective, this could be referred to as unintended conservatism.

The point of the comparison of the respective postwar and post-independence approaches to secondary education and the ways in which these approaches have worked to reproduce social inequalities is not to arrive at a tidy universalism regarding how inequalities are reproduced via education in all places and at all times. Instead, the theory sections (Chapters 3 and 4), in which attempts are made to fuse classical, post-colonial, critical theoretical and historiographical approaches, will provide an opening for understanding the generic character of historical-educational reproduction in both countries. This generic character of historical-educational reproduction is tied to a general educational conservatism, a widespread yet latent perspective that inhibits people from imagining a different school system and, with that, a different world.

The research steps involved in this particular project are as follows: first, recognizing a social problem (the reproduction of social inequalities through secondary education); second, identifying critical junctures that have given rise to or exacerbated the problem; third, arriving at a suitable methodological approach (Chapter 2); fourth, developing an appropriate and critical theory which is broad enough to be applied to the objects of inquiry in question (Chapters 3 and 4); fifth, comparing the objects of inquiry (Chapters 5 and 6); and sixth, pointing the discussion in new directions (Chapter 7). This approach is certainly replicable for secondary education systems in other countries, provided these marginal conditions are met: the countries have liberal constitutions, are nominally democratic and capitalistic and have encountered critical junctures during which the opportunity to reform the given education system wholesale presented itself. While the timeframe for a historical comparison would need to be geared toward a different critical juncture, the theory outlined in this dissertation could be applied with only minor adjustments to different nation-states' education systems and reform endeavors.

These points will be methodologically and theoretically substantiated later on, but important here is the idea that knowledge can be gained from analyzing both similarities and differences. The temporal similarities of the critical junctures in India and Germany are significant in that there were really but two choices as to which top-down shapes the societies would take, although Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) deftly tried to navigate a third way for India. While larger political-economic structures shaped decisions made during the critical juncture from without, this was not really the case in the realm of education. Just how important critical junctures are and have been in shaping the trajectory of educational reform can be learned via a comparison of Germany and India. The inertia of national education systems is a tremendous force. Before this inertia can be overcome, it must be understood. In other words, the particular roots of educational conservatism must be critically comprehended before one can start in on the work of imagining what particular foundation should be set for an approach to education which has a good life (Rehbein 2015: 130) – and not function by means of violence or oppression – as its objective. Education need not foster social reproduction. This study attempts to show why and how education has persisted in doing so in two distant and distinct places.

More generally, it seems India and Germany have a lot to learn from each other when it comes to education and society. For example, as Germany becomes more heterogeneous in terms of religion, language, culture, etc., it can learn something from India about how education can contribute meaningfully to a secular, multilingual and truly multicultural society. While sectarian violence persists in India and rightfully grabs the headlines when it transpires, it is a phenomenon with which India has lived since at least partition; furthermore, it seems, at least for now, to be one the wane. In Germany, the case is much different, as 2015 saw over one thousand attacks on asylum-seeker housing, a five-fold increase over the previous year (*Deutsche Welle* 2016). Germany has not really had to deal with large-scale violence along ethnic, racial or religious lines since capitulation. India, for example, could learn from Germany's rich educational heritage when it comes to the extension of education to all and its impressive historical literacy rates. Vital here is the idea that the learning process is not and never should be a one-way street.

1.3. Studies Related to Comparative Education

Many studies have been performed related to comparative education. Some are much more prominent than others; some are of a more positivistic bent while others are more reflexive; and most are of little use by themselves if the ultimate goal is to understand the relationship between education, change and society. What they all seem to have in common is that they carry with them a degree of ontological bias, which speaks little to the way in which an object of inquiry is explored but speaks volumes about the reasons behind the exploration in the first place. In a sense, one should be grateful for comparisons of education systems in hopes of learning something about how learning can take place; from another perspective, however, it becomes all too apparent that very little of substantive value can be learned by engaging with the lion's share of the studies, as most are based on the results of standardized tests.

Assessment standards are complicated subjects, and most educators would likely agree that education without assessment would be a fool's errand. It is not the intention of the author to suggest that assessment as such should be banished from the school experience, because to suggest as much would call into question the logic behind credentialism, a topic which will be explored briefly in Chapter 4. Although approaches have been developed which allow for the skirting of traditional assessment procedures, it is thoroughly unrealistic to expect that assessment as it is generally performed throughout school systems will be abandoned entirely. The point here is to engage critically – although not yet theoretically – with the idea behind comparative, standardized, internationalized exams as the basis for international comparison. Alternative approaches will be proposed in the discussion section of the dissertation, at which point the theoretical, historical, social and cultural contours of the comparison between the German and Indian education systems will have been made clear.

Before shifting to the topic of assessment and ranking, it would be beneficial to briefly review the evolution of comparative educational studies. According to Isabell van Ackeren and Dominique Klein (2012), early studies in comparative education showed that the principle of performance was not the sole arbiter of life chances; rather, the selection process itself, and its related dynamics, had a larger effect (779). It is interesting that performance, and the way in which performance is measured, namely via assessment, was less important than selection, although it must be noted that the inherent connection between the selection process and performance is not examined in any kind of detail. The original

impulse to create a system whereby education systems could be compared scientifically is credited to Marc Antoine Jullien (1775-1848), who posited that such a scientifically oriented comparison would allow each party in the comparison to profit in the sense of the development of quality standards (*Qualitätsentwicklung*) (781).

This initial impulse morphed over the centuries into what has become a typology of sorts regarding international comparisons of education systems. According to the typology developed by Wolfgang Hörner, there are four types of comparisons in the field: first, an ideographical comparison whereby the comparison can be deduced from the particularities of educational phenomenon; second, an experimental comparison whereby universal principles can be sought via the analysis of different country-specific contexts; third, a melioristic comparison whereby the cognitive interest is framed by the motivation to learn from the experiences of other countries; and last, an evolutionary comparison whereby the development of school systems in different countries is the focus of the analysis (Hörner referenced in Ackeren and Klein 2012: 781).

While typologies can be useful in that they provide the analyst with a frame of reference for comparing two unlike things, there are inherent problems in the one presented here, problems which call into question the efficacy of employing such a typology in the first place. Although a more nuanced understanding of these problems will emerge in the theory chapters, it is necessary to point out here that the first two points are hugely problematic from a philosophy of science perspective and that the third point has the potential, if not approached correctly, of reflecting and even embracing hegemonic power relations. The fourth point, the evolutionary comparison, is the only appropriate one insofar as it does not contain value judgments, power relations or claims to universality and is open enough to allow for a pluralistic comparison.

Some extant comparative studies and surveys are to be admired for their comprehensiveness. Anthony Heath and Alice Sullivan (2013), for example, compared what they referred to as the democratization of upper secondary education in China, England, Wales, France, Germany, Japan and Sweden, and through the comparison were able to probe the relationships between the “democratization of rates of access” and “democratization in terms of equality of opportunity” (123). The field which they chose to survey was broad yet, with the exception of China, thoroughly rooted in the Global North. With specific regard to the relationship between democratization and social structure, they tentatively conclude: “the

spread of education, treated not as a positional good but as access to a range of (criterion-referenced) skills and know-how, may itself come to shift the balance of power between the classes" (137). Although this conclusion appears to be a mere practice in stating the obvious, it at least reflects an effort to understand the relationship between access and opportunity.

The critique mentioned above – that the Global North is overemphasized in the study – is not unique to the authors mentioned. In fact, this geographical bias is apparent across the spectrum of comparative studies and not only with regard to comparative studies in education. This idea will be parsed in Chapters 3 and 4, but it is worth mentioning here that, just as one should not throw the baby out with the bathwater, one instance of bias does not entirely invalidate an argument. Instead, it brings about an opportunity for reflection. That being said, geographical bias – one could also label this phenomenon Eurocentrism – is a problem in the literature. For instance, in a volume edited by Hermann Röhrs and Volker Lenhart (1995) titled *Progressive Education across the Continents*, only three out of thirty chapters are about countries in what can be referred to as the Global South, causing one to question the editors' word choice concerning the title of the book. Words are, after all, important, but the critique here is not really semantic. The epistemological consequences of the approach will be explored in Chapter 3.

In *Education, Equality and Social Cohesion: A Comparative Analysis*, written by Andy Green, John Preston and Jan Germen Janmaat (2006), the authors are primarily concerned with the ways in which educational policy interacts with other forms of cohesion-inducing social structures – namely those pertaining to welfare and labor market regulation – to form an enduring kind of social cohesion (9). The approach, focused on the Nordic states, Germany, Japan and Canada, is predicated on the long and sometimes contradictory social democratic tradition. Post-modern notions of power and society are acknowledged but these are eschewed in the overall analysis in favor of looking at the relationship between education and social democracy. For the purposes of this dissertation, which seeks to transcend political universalisms (for example, social democracy versus liberal democracy), the study is of little ideological use. The methodology employed by the authors, the Qualitative Comparative

Analysis,[8] provides insight into the way in which questions of comparative education can be addressed from the perspective of a well-defined political point of departure. So much is conveyed in one of the book's concluding sentences: "Countries which achieve more equal education and which, on our evidence, benefit therefrom in social cohesion, are countries which believe in the virtues of equality and which design their education systems to enhance it" (186). Phrased differently, countries with social democratic traditions are likely to act social-democratically, an entirely banal conclusion.

The most intellectually comprehensive comparative study of education, Robert Ulich's (1962) *The Education of Nations: A Comparison in Historical Perspectives* does not appear to feature prominently in contemporary studies. Although the work is admittedly biased in its focus on nations in the Global North, the approach outlined is centered on pluralistic understanding, rendering it a fascinating read for scholars wishing to grasp the complexities of the interactions between history, public policy, culture and education. Perhaps Ulich's biographical details – he was a German academic who emigrated to the USA in 1934 – gave him a more comprehensive and demanding perspective on comparative studies. After differentiating early on in his book between education and learning, with the former being categorized as a "a conscious and institutionalized enterprise of humanity", he contends: "If we wish to understand [schools and school systems] we have to relate them to the surrounding political, cultural and economic forces" (vi). Ulich is thoroughly rooted in the European tradition, but his survey is valuable insofar as it is critical. His bias toward Eurocentric humanistic education is apparent throughout. For example, he argues: "What happens to national and educational institutions that pretend to live on ideals they no longer take seriously? They lose what Nietzsche regards as the essential goals of all education: moral strength and honesty of character" (209). This idea and the ideas behind it are not free

[8] The Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) method is very much appealing in that it allows the analyst to parse data on the basis of seemingly arbitrary yet theoretically/qualitatively substantiated lines of difference and provides a nifty formula based on Boolean algebra through which the comparative social world can be comprehended. Such an approach would not match the spirit of the work at hand, which is aimed first and foremost at the working out of a particular-yet-global social phenomenon: the reproduction of social inequalities through education. What is more, the QCA method only works when comparing an absolute minimum of five objects of inquiry (Ragin 1987). In any event, in the context of the work presented here, facts and figures are only significant insofar as they augment the reader's imagination or understanding of the topic.

of problems, but the author's insistence on understanding being the primary goal of comparative educational studies is admirable, especially in the context of what has become the overwhelmingly dominant mode of comparison, namely standardized test results.

By focusing on the global spread of educational approaches, Ronald K. Goodenow (1990) attempts to develop a framework for conceptualizing John Dewey's impact on education throughout the world, with specific reference to the so-called Third World. He summarizes Dewey's main conceptual impact thusly: "A vehicle for relating education to the everyday world of work and community life, it was directed as well at eliminating the evils of nineteenth-century industrialism as it affected the exploitation of the child in the emergent city" (24). After briefly discussing the diffusion of so-called progressive education in Mexico, India and Chile, the author concludes that it is extremely difficult to measure the effects of ideas and how they spread (25). Included in his analysis is literature that links the ideas of John Dewey and Mohandas Gandhi. Reflecting to a strong degree the spirit of this dissertation, Goodenow argues: "Progressive education, as numerous scholars of American education have indicated, has also been highly complex and often contradictory in character – both 'liberal' and 'conservative'" (24). This ideological morass, and the way it can be overcome, will be explored in Chapter 7. Some kind of combination of the approaches of Ulich and Goodenow, with their respective focuses on ideas and understanding, approximates the spirit of this dissertation.

When it comes to both the critical juncture and the units of comparison, Masako Shibata's (2005) *Japan and Germany under the U.S. Occupation: A Comparative Analysis of the Post-War Education Reform* is perhaps the most similar extant study, but there are some significant differences. Shibata seeks to understand the influence of the American occupiers on the trajectory of educational reforms in each place beginning in 1945. While this influence is no doubt important, the danger of such a study is that it places too much emphasis on occupation policy and does not delve sufficiently into the overall historical-educational and ideological landscape, further bolstering the widespread misunderstanding that, at least as concerns educational policy in the Federal Republic, the Americans had a profound and lasting effect. As will be explored in Chapter 5, the pushback against the educational vision of the American occupiers on the part of German educators was perhaps even more significant in shaping reform (or lack thereof) than was actual American policy. The heavy handed

approach to denazification had the effect of re-entrenching the very pillar of educational conservatism, the tripartite system, which it sought to disassemble.

Other comparative studies rely on vast datasets to provide comparisons of narrowly defined phenomena and appear disconnected from larger thematic perspectives. Sandra Hupka-Brunner et al (2011), for example, approach questions about how similar the German and Swiss education systems are in their approaches to disadvantaged students and how similar pupils' outcomes are quantitatively (62). They come to the conclusion that new strategies need to be developed in both countries to support what they refer to as disadvantaged students (76). Such studies contribute a modicum of understanding to how comparisons can be approached. What is more, they reaffirm the necessity to couch comparisons in a pluralistic understanding of the relationship between education, culture, history and society, for without reference to this relationship, data-driven studies are essentially presented in a vacuum, inhibiting the recognition of important correlations, relations and even contradictions.

While a critical analysis of the genealogy of comparative education studies, further filling in the blanks between Jullien and Hörner, would be fascinating, it would be altogether peripheral to the task at hand. That being said, it is necessary to jump to what is by far the most respected and, in some respects, feared comparative assessment of education systems, the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). Administered by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the standardized exams are conducted among pupils of member states (plus others) on a triennial basis. The results are then tabulated and states' performance indicators are reflected in a kind of league-table. The thematic emphases vary from examination phase to examination phase. Interesting here are not the results of the exams, which can also be found triennially in mainstream newspapers, but the perceived impacts the results have on understanding education systems.

Before discussing the prickly relationship between PISA results and policymaking, however, the PISA approach should be exposed to a critique. Nina Bonderup Dohn (2007), after conceding that the PISA studies have a "reasonable intention" in what they are attempting to assess (2), launches into a full-throated critique of PISA's approach and methodology:

> PISA assesses, with some degree of reliability, knowledge and skills for PISA. No more, no less. That is, PISA assesses how well students are able to exercise knowledge and skills within the PISA focus areas in precisely one 'real life setting', namely a survey test situation (10).

Dohn is not alone in her critique, although hers is likely the most barbed. Kerstin Martens and Dennis Niemann (2013), level a similar albeit less inflammatory criticism: "…PISA is obviously not ideologically unbiased but rather evaluates education from an economic perspective and promotes, according to this paradigm, related learning techniques" (315). While reading such critiques is enjoyable for anyone who has experienced such exams, they are certainly not unique to the PISA assessments. In fact, anyone who has taught at most any educational level has likely encountered the question, "Will this be on the test?" That value is placed on narrow performance, and that narrow performance is something for which pupils or students can prepare or be prepared, goes without saying.

The central point of Dohn's critique, however, is not that administering a seemingly objective test like PISA with the expectation that something measurable will emerge is only disingenuous; rather, it is that the test itself contains a great deal of bias. To wit: "…the expectation that there will be no test item that can be found to be biased or ambiguous is probably too severe. After all, mistakes do happen" (Dohn 2007: 11). This entertaining line is followed by a more substantive criticism: "…one is dismayed at the number of test items that are culturally biased, ambiguously formulated, confusing on account of misprints, down-right erroneous or furnished with highly questionable answering keys" (11). These criticisms are not confined to musty academic journals. The British Broadcasting Corporation (2013), for example, had this to say about the rise of PISA rankings:

> [PISA] league tables emerged about the same time as universities first experienced being listed like football clubs. It was an unfamiliar approach, but ranking has spread like ivy over ancient institutions. Everyone stands back and says it's a terrible over-simplification - and then starts planning ways to get higher (Coughlan 2013).

In spite of these widespread and even mainstream criticisms, PISA has been able to reach fairly broad conclusions based on the results that emerge from the exams. According to the OECD (2010), for example, the PISA studies all indicate that there is a systematic correlation between school performance and social background (in fact, Germany was one of

the “worst” in this regard) (OECD 2010a: 785). This is a noble conclusion, but if the assessment process is flawed, it begs the question as to whether it can be taken seriously. According to another OECD analysis in the same year: “Systems that show high performance and an equitable distribution of learning outcomes tend to be comprehensive, requiring teachers and schools to embrace diverse student populations thought personalised education pathways” (OECD 2010b: 13). Again, this is a milquetoast conclusion behind which any educator with a progressive inclination would gladly stand. The authors continue: “School systems that assume that students have different destinations with different expectations and differentiation in terms of how they are placed in schools, classes and grades often show less equitable outcomes without an overall performance advantage” (OECD 2010b: 13). It is almost beyond belief that the OECD can reach such conclusions on the basis of biased assessment procedures. This would pass as unproblematic notwithstanding the fact that policymakers take the results very seriously.

The PISA results are taken so seriously, in fact, that they shape public policy, and this fact has more or less been taken for granted just as the problems associated with PISA have been ignored. Meg Maguire (2010), for example, asserts: “Many nations, aware of international comparisons such as…PISA, have been spurred on to reform their educational provision and raise their measurable levels of attainment” (59). This relationship between rankings and action is widespread throughout contemporary institutions. In the context of academia, one recognizes the tension between university activities and ranking endeavors. Being highly ranked takes on an outsize importance, as if being a well-ranked university was a desirable end in and of itself. The drive toward comparative “competitiveness” in academia is most aptly represented in the German Research Foundation’s (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*) description of its Excellence Initiative: “The aim of the Excellence Initiative is to make Germany a more attractive research location, making it more internationally competitive and focussing attention on the outstanding achievements of German universities and the German scientific community” (www.dfg.de). The principle of ranking, and the impetus to secure a desirable comparative ranking, is obviously a driving force in private enterprise, as well. The idea that companies compete to be listed, for example, as a Fortune 500 company or to be nominated as a top employer, is neither new nor surprising. Rankings, however, are more than just cynical exercises in public relations insofar as they have an effect on public policy.

Maguire's (2010) assertion deserves some additional explanation as it relates to PISA. Martens and Niemann (2013), referenced above in a broad critique of the PISA studies, compare the different impacts of PISA results in Germany and the United States. They try to show that, in Germany, unfavorable PISA results spurred secondary educational reform actions by: "revealing a gap between self-perception and evidence as well as generating a link to other crucial issues of state performance" (316). Thus, German policymakers were spurred to action to refine their own assessment techniques. In spite of the criticism levelled against PISA's assessment goals, the authors assert that ratings and rankings are good things insofar as they lead to the establishment of "normative criteria for appropriate behaviour" (317-318). Questions regarding whether these "normative" criteria are useful beyond providing a link between the economy and education, or if this link is even desirable, are not addressed in the analysis.

Another study about the PISA exams, this time with a focus on the relationship between high performance of individual students and broad educational outcomes, displays a concrete link between success on PISA exams and later educational success (Fischbach, Keller, Preckel and Brunner 2013). The research, which focused on large data sets to survey trends in educational outcomes of students in Luxembourg who had completed the PISA assessment in 2006, exhibited a positive correlation between educational success as measured by PISA in 2006 and later educational outcomes. While informative, the study does little to address broader critiques aimed at standardized assessments. In a sense, such studies can be likened to discussing the benefits of using a weather vane to ascertain which ways the wind is blowing. The idea that students who do well on such exams do well in school is not surprising. Critically asking why that is the case allows other important questions to be asked. Knowing which way the wind is blowing does little to explain what the wind portends or what broader weather patterns cause the wind to blow the way it does.

For the moment, this notion of "normative criteria" and the idea that PISA results *should* inform reform can be discarded. More interesting is the comparative aspect of the study. While the PISA results engendered much hand-wringing and a kind of loss of confidence amongst German policymakers, the results were essentially ignored in the halls of power of the United States (Martens and Niemann 2013: 326). From this, however, one should not conclude that the United States is skeptical of standardized assessments; in fact, the opposite is surely the case, as anyone who has come into contact with US-American

schools or universities will be quick to realize. The authors' conclusion is based more on the United States' "official" confidence in its own assessment methods, a view that does not preclude the influence of self-assuredness or even jingoism in explaining the differentiated reactions of Germany and the United States to the PISA results. Political soul-searching is a gross overreaction to the results of a flawed assessment procedure, just as the blatant ignoring of results reflects, perhaps, too much arrogance. If international assessments are indeed necessary in order to compare countries, three things should be taken into account: first, the results should not be taken too seriously and certainly should not cause crises of confidence; second, the exams should be tailored to the local cultural and linguistic particularities, something which would paradoxically (for the purposes of the exam) preclude the "standardization" of the tests; and third, any analysis of the results should be, following Ulich (1962), performed with reference to historical, cultural, economic and social particularities. It is unfortunate that straight comparisons of the results of standardized examinations dominate discussions about comparative education. This, however, provides ample space for a critical comparative evaluation.

2. METHODS

*

By critically enumerating postwar and post-independence educational reforms and working to uncover education's reproductive functions…

*

Attempting to learn something from a comparison of the Indian and German secondary education systems requires a systematic approach. Before proceeding to the substantive parts of the dissertation, namely the theory chapters, the historical comparison sections and the discussion, it is necessary, to the extent that this work strives to be scientific, to sketch out the methodologies used to approach and analyze the objects of inquiry, inequality and the historical trajectories of the Indian and German education systems as concern secondary education. As this work is chiefly historical and nominally interpretive, it is important to first outline what is meant by reflexive sociology and map out the ways in which the author is entangled in the different discourses surrounding the object of inquiry. The reader will note that the writing style in the first part of this section will differ from the preceding and subsequent parts of the work, but transitioning from the third-person narrative to the first-person style is altogether necessary, a point which will be brought to bear throughout the course of the paragraphs about reflexive sociology. Paragraphs employing the first-person style will be italicized in order to draw for the reader a distinction between narrative and rumination. Such paragraphs will only appear in this methodology section.

Subsequent to the discussion about reflexivity and the entangledness of the subject and object will be a conceptual outline of methodological approaches related to sociology in general, with emphases on comparative sociology and the sociology of education. This will be followed by a brief discussion of methods for researching institutions and why such methods do not fit the objects of inquiry. Next, the historical methods used in this dissertation will be discussed before shifting to a brief discussion of general qualitative methods. It is the author's hope that through this chapter, his decisions as related to the objects of inquiry will be rendered understandable.

2.1. Reflexivity

Reflexivity becomes important for the social scientist the moment she or he realizes that there is not a defined line or barrier separating her or him (the subject) from the object of inquiry. The idea that the subject influences its object of inquiry is widespread in both the natural and social sciences. In the field of anthropology, for example, the relationship between the subject and object is relatively easy to conceptualize. It now seems incredibly obvious that an anthropologist who has "embedded" herself or himself in a community in order to study that community's social and cultural practices will influence and even disturb those very social and cultural practices. The subject and object are parts of the same world and in this case interact with one another to mutually construct the world, if only temporarily. In the natural sciences, for example in biology, the environment of the laboratory and the actions of the researcher can alter, even if only slightly, the natural phenomena taking place under the microscope. Although these are but two broad examples from the enormous realm of science, they are indicative of a broader problem: there is always some kind of relationship, no matter how seemingly insignificant, between the subject and the object. This applies, too, to the historians or philosophers confined to their offices and not only to the anthropologist in the bush. The philosopher or historian is, after all, still a part of some society, has some kind of identity, and interacts at some level with the universe around her or him (see Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). These interactions, however, are not mere trifles; rather, they greatly influence even desk-bound scientists. These ideas will be unpacked further in Chapters 3 and 4, but at this point, it is necessary to the author's situatedness and entangledness relative to the objects of inquiry. This will shed light not only on the methodological and theoretical

decisions made in the preparation of this dissertation but will allow for a more frank and comprehensive discussion of the findings.

To begin, my motivations to look at the historical developments of educational reforms in India and Germany against the backdrop of the reproduction of inequality reflect, at the most basic level, my yearning to understand something by which I have long been baffled, namely the social role of education. I have spent decades in the classroom, as a pupil, student and teacher, so it is safe to say that my befuddlement has most definitely not been a result of my lack of familiarity with classrooms, education or education systems. What is more, both of my parents are trained teachers, as are (and were) many additional family members and friends. My nearly hereditary familiarity with the practice of education, however, has not lent itself to a real understanding of the ways in which schools, culture, society, politics and even economics interact.

My decision to select India and Germany as case studies is really just a reflection of my profound interest in both places. This is not to say that I am not fascinated by my "home" country, the United States; rather, it will become evident that not only is my understanding of education and schools shaped by my autobiographical details but that my ideas about reform are heavily influenced by the American educational experience. In that sense, although I have spent time in both Germany and India, I feel as though my not having been socialized in either place lends me a certain amount of detachment from both objects of inquiry, a detachment that will ideally lead to valuable insights into the machinations of each place and, more importantly, the interactions between the cases. That being said, I have experienced and read my way into both places, and it is not as if either place is truly foreign to me.

My decision to focus on the historical, sociological aspects of each place starting in 1945 and 1947, respectively, stems from a somewhat morbid fascination with chaos, or to put it more appropriately, a fascination with attempts to remake the social world. I would refer to myself as a student of revolutions, with a particular interest in the American, French and Russian revolutions. Germany 1945 and India 1947 were revolutionary times and places in much different ways from the aforementioned political revolutions. Why nothing revolutionary took place in the education systems in either place during these phases is a question worth asking, and while I will not be able to provide a definitive answer to that question, my attempts to understand the relationship between history, reform, culture and

society will help contextualize the lack of revolutionary action in the field of secondary education.

I ought to briefly mention, as well, my own formal education in order to provide some context for Chapters 3-7. I attended public schools in a middle-upper-middle class, second-tier suburb of the Twin Cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota. In Minnesota, the bulk of school funding is tied directly to local property taxes within each school district, meaning the districts with the bigger, more expensive lots and housing enjoy much larger budgets than do school districts in less affluent areas. I liked knowledge and learning, but I detested school. Looking back, I suppose I was lucky to have been raised in a well-funded school district which offered many co- and extra-curricular "activities" in fine arts and athletics. My university education, starting at the University of Minnesota, was perhaps more revealing in terms of forming my position toward my objects of inquiry. My major was "Global Studies" with a geographical emphasis on Europe and a thematic emphasis on "Peace, Governance and Justice". This bears mentioning here, as I believe I was part of a then-novel generation of students that was trained interdisciplinarily and with an eye toward a then-burgeoning field, namely globalization studies.

The courses I attended were framed by "important" ideas to which I was introduced during my first year of studies, including Edward Said's Orientalism, Michel Foucault's Governmentality, Immanuel Wallerstein's World-Systems Theory and Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno's criticisms of Enlightenment thought, to name but a few. This early interdisciplinary, critical phase of my education allowed me to explore these ideas as they related to my other courses in political science, international relations, geology, anthropology and development studies, not to mention courses in German studies and journalism, which were my minor subjects. Important here is that I learned that probing the relationship between academic fields – interdisciplinarity or even pluralism – can lead to a deeper understanding of all aspects of a given object of inquiry and that this understanding, though invariably rife with abstractions, renders a person more capable of getting to the root of knowledge. Although these ideas would come to me later, the proverbial seed was planted during my bachelor studies.

The final formative phase of my education happened within the broad confines of the Global Studies Programme, a master's program then based out of Freiburg, Germany, which allowed me to study topics related to development, politics, political economy, sociology and

labor studies in India (at Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi) and South Africa (at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban). This experience in the context of a "global" program sparked a further interest in understanding a so-called globalized world from the perspective of a comparative study. That I was able to read and experience my way into all three places was particularly enjoyable, and I believe that experience cemented the idea that knowledge is multifaceted and thus endeavors to approach or even approximate knowledge must rely on interdisciplinarity, pluralism and even creativity.

There is an old joke about how a trained social scientist is like a duck, at least insofar as a duck can perform many tasks (swim, fly and "walk"). The problem, of course, is that a duck performs none of these tasks particularly well. Its ability to perform all three, to be pluralistic in its movements, makes it unique among feathered creatures. To the extent that I have been trained, in the broadest sense, as a social scientist, I feel it would be dishonest of me to narrow my focus to one specific field, for a broad training does not lend itself to efficacy in a narrowly defined subject or field. In what is left of this methodology section, I will explain why I made the research decisions I did and how these decisions can be understood in the context of pluralism. Before doing that, however, I will further explore my own situatedness when it comes to normative and even political notions, with my rationale being that once these have been engaged with, something closer to a value-free or at least reflexive analysis can unfold.

I am cynical when it comes to formal politics of all persuasions, and this deep cynicism not only has to do with my own reading of political biographies, treatises and histories but also with my own experiences, something which is perhaps endemic for those of us who came of age politically in the buildup to the Iraq War. Although I will refuse here to degrade myself by labeling my own political beliefs, I should point out that I am an equal opportunity cynic, which in practical terms means that I am equally distrustful of social democrats, for example, as I am of "free" liberals. Beyond those narrow constructs, it should be apparent through reading this dissertation that my own political/normative compass is oriented somewhere between Adorno's words: "There is no right life in the wrong life" (Adorno 1994: 42; translated by author) and the well-worn idiom: "Live and let live".

The above autobiographical details relate my own situatedness in relation to education. It does, after all, mean something that I am a male, middle-class American citizen living in Germany who has spent the better part of three decades in different classrooms and

who has experienced, lived in and worked in several different countries. Whether these combined experiences will provide new insights of any kind will be seen. This is probably the most honest statement I can make: I do not have the right to speak for anyone else. I do, however, have the right to speak about anything.

2.2. Comparative Methods

Aligning the author's diverse research interests and ambitions under the guise of a single research project is a daunting task. This section, especially as it is labeled quite narrowly as a methodology section, is disallowed from speaking to the intimate connection between method and theory, but any blind spots in that regard will be uncovered in Chapters 3 and 4. Keeping with the interdisciplinary, pluralistic research program, the best place to start is with Clifford Geertz's (1973) approach. As anybody who has had the chance to read Geertz must realize, his research program is highly demanding. The connections he attempted to make between various phenomena relied on pluralism, as he sought to explain not just behavior but, seemingly more important, context. This "thick description", as he calls it (5), allows for the vital connection to be made between a phenomenon and the context in which it occurs. In his book, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, he uses several examples to get this point across. The most innocuous, however, involves the meaning of a wink. A wink as a cultural or social phenomenon can have many different meanings. Devoid of context, however, it is entirely meaningless, and if one was to try to guess at the meaning without understanding the context, the guess would invariably be wrong.[9]

[9] Relating this point to the research program at hand, one could analyze India's National Literacy Mission of 1988, for example, and would likely be impressed by the flowering legalese and the goodwill inherent in the program. Exploring the context surrounding the passage of the program, though, would open up new avenues for understanding and would allow for connections to be made between, for example, literacy and economic growth, economic growth and democracy, democracy and education, etc.

Geertz recommends: "…integrating different types of theories and concepts in such a way that one can formulate meaningful propositions embodying findings now sequestered in separate fields of study" (Geertz 1973: 44). Geertz, of course, was approaching the problems inherent to performing scientific work from a much different angle. He was an anthropologist by training and profession, meaning his emphasis was first and foremost on experience via fieldwork, and he attempted to root his findings in an all-encompassing understanding of culture. To that end, his conception of culture is two-pronged: first, "culture is best seen not as complexes of concrete behavior patterns…but as a set of control mechanisms…for the governing of behavior" (44); and second, humans are, "precisely the animal most dependent on extragenetic, outside-the-skin control mechanisms, such as cultural programs, for ordering his [sic] behavior" (44). Central to the methodology employed in this study is the notion of pluralism. For Geertz, pluralism entailed stretching the definition of culture so as to include many different approaches, namely anthropological, sociological, historical, political and economic ones.

To say that the methodological foundation of this study is pluralistic runs the risk of allowing this project and its findings to be labeled "relativistic". This is not the case. Once again, Geertz helps make the connection between his understanding of culture – which will be discussed in greater detail in the next section – and the broad approach of this dissertation: "When seen as a set of symbolic devices for controlling behavior, extrasomatic sources of information, culture provides the link between what men [sic] are intrinsically capable of and what they actually, one by one, become" (Geertz 1973: 52). These lines bear similarities to Amartya Sen's (2003) "Functionings and Capability" approach (39-55). Though both Sen, a trained economist, and Geertz, an anthropologist, approach the social sciences from entirely different angles, they frame the penultimate social scientific question in a similar way. How can one approach the relationship between "capabilities and functionings" [10] or "what [people] are intrinsically capable of becoming and what they actually become" with an eye toward substantiating the claim that the relationship is premised first and foremost on reproduction? What methods can be used in the analysis?

[10] Sen's ideas will be revisited below. His use of words is masterful and as such lends a significant amount of conceptual clarity to the topic of social inequality.

The original methodological point of departure for this study was an adapted form of Michael Vester's habitus hermeneutics (Vester 2001),[11] but this immediately posed two significant problems. After putting together a broad questionnaire and performing practice interviews with friends and relatives, the data unfortunately did not lend itself to worthwhile interpretation, because, with reference to the author's shortcomings and training as a journalist, people often lie about, or to be more generous, "misremember" autobiographical details. While lies and "misrememberings" are important according to the method, it became abundantly clear that employing the method in order to understand inequality, reproduction and schools would not lend itself to any real understanding on the part of the author. What is more, the analysis of the findings would potentially slip into the realm of armchair psychoanalysis, something which would have been inimical to the goals of the research. The second reason is that performing interviews with secondary school teachers would potentially lead to an uncomfortable situation, namely "blaming the victim", a situation brought to the author's attention by a wise colleague. The prospect of the researcher "blaming the victim" was as potentially dangerous as the researcher simply "blaming the system". In the interest of avoiding such a conflict, the idea of performing interviews was scrapped.

With that in mind, the focus of the methodological approach became ill-defined. The decision to approach the problem first and foremost from an historical perspective, however, presented a solution to the problem. In short, the methodology became about how to factor historical, theoretical, cultural, social, political and pedagogical considerations into what was, in the beginning, a strict comparative study of two well-defined objects of inquiry. The only apparent answer entailed a significant shift in the level of analysis. Instead of relying on primary sources in the form of interview partners, a broad transition to secondary sources in the form of history books became necessary. Accordingly, a methodological framework through which macrosocial historical information could be interpreted needed to be found, and no small amount of creativity was necessary to connect the pluralistic interpretive approach to the writing of history and, in turn, to connect everything to the investigation of the relationship between what people are capable of becoming and what they eventually

[11] This was done with great success by Rehbein et al (2015).

become through secondary education in India and Germany, all through the particularized lens of the author.

As mentioned in the introduction, the methodological steps involved identifying the *tertium comparationis* and then highlighting the critical junctures to be explored, not in hopes of being able to construct counterfactuals, but instead to satisfy the terms of the comparison temporally. The next important thing to consider was the point or logic of the comparison. According to John Stuart Mill (1970), the two methods connected to comparative studies are the method of agreement and the method of difference, with both methods being principally geared toward the discovery of causal relationships, or, in his words, "either inquiries into the cause of a given effect, or into the effects or properties of a given cause" (205). Mill wrote these words in 1888, but this logic of comparison still underlies even "cutting-edge" comparative methods, not least of which is the qualitative comparative method (Ragin 1987). It behooves the author to mention here that while the qualitative comparative method is appealing, especially if one employs so-called fuzzy sets, the applicability of the method in view of this project is questionable, as a minimum of eight cases is necessary for a viable comparison. What is more, there are two additional, intertwined problems with the method: first, it has the goal of establishing causal relationships; and second, sets can be adjusted retroactively in order to prove a given hypothesis, leading to the problem of the self-fulfilling prophecy, or what Karl Popper (1974) referred to as the "Oedipus effect" (13).This, however, is a broad problem in science of every persuasion.

It should be noted here that, given the complexities of the social world, attempting to establish causal relationships is all but impossible without a gross degree of abstraction. This is brought to bear by an analysis of the two "Canons" laid out by Mill. When it comes to the method of agreement, this "Canon" applies: "If two or more instances of the phenomenon under investigation have only one circumstance in common, the circumstances in which alone all the instances agree, is the cause (or effect) of the given phenomenon" (Mill 1970: 206). The second "Canon", with reference to the method of difference, is formulated thusly:

> If an instance in which the phenomenon under investigation occurs, and an instance in which it does not occur, have every circumstance in common save one, that one occurring only in the former; the circumstances in which alone the two instances differ, is the effect, or the cause, or an indispensable part of the cause, of the phenomenon (207).

The exclusive application of these "Canons" to objects of inquiry as large and complex as societies and education systems is wholly inappropriate. In discussing the differences in the relations between cause and effect with regards to "nations and major institutions" and "persons and roulette wheels", Lieberson (1991) points out: "Their [nations' and major institutions'] determination is less haphazard and therefore deterministic thinking is appropriate for these cases…It turns out that many deep and profound processes are also somewhat haphazard, not so easily relegated to a simple determinism" (318). The haphazardness of ideas will be a major theme throughout the historical comparison. Mill's ideas, however inapplicable to this dissertation, did provide a strong basis for comparative research, but it must be mentioned that Mill himself did not believe that either of his methods could be extended to the social sciences (Mill cited in Lieberson 1991: 308).

It becomes apparent, then, that a different, perhaps more convoluted logic must be applied to these cases. After all, that objects *can* be compared sociologically or historically does not make a comparison worthwhile. The comparison must fit into some kind of schematic logic, lest it become merely a series of arbitrary descriptions. According to Skocpol and Somers (1980), there are three logics in comparative history: macro-causal analysis, the parallel demonstration of theory and the contrast of contexts (175). It is important to point out that a comparative-social-historical work can contain multiple logics, meaning that the logics are not always mutually exclusive. Essential, too, are the family resemblances these three logics share with Mill's two canons. The point here is not to reduce entire bodies of work to a singular logic. For example, Max Weber's (1976) *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* could be referred to as a textbook illustration of Mill's method of difference (Lieberson 1991: 308), but this would be a misinterpretation of Weber's work. In the end, it can be said that Weber's aims were much broader than that, a point which will be revisited in Chapter 3. For the present, it suffices to mention that Weber's approach did rely on the method of difference but was part of a larger, ideographic – not nomothetic – approach. For Skocpol and Somers (1980), a given work can merely skew in the direction of one of the logics they outline, meaning the logics are by no means all-encompassing. Macro-causal analysis, at least insofar as it attempts to construct causal relationships based in part on Millian logic (183), would be entirely inappropriate in the context of this project, although one certainly is tempted to arrive at a singular cause in explaining how inequality has been reproduced historically through the Indian and German school systems. The parallel

demonstration of theory and the contrast of contexts, however, together approximate the methodological thrust of the research.

To begin, Skocpol and Somers (1980) provide the rationale behind employing the parallel demonstration of theory method as: "to persuade the reader that a given, explicitly delineated hypothesis or theory can repeatedly demonstrate its fruitfulness – its ability convincingly to order the evidence – when applied to a series of relevant historical trajectories" (176). This approach hinges first and foremost on the development of a suitable theory that is capable of making a strong connection between the hypothesis and the evidence. An important distinction to make at this juncture is that the parallel demonstration of theory approach is first and foremost aimed at deducing a universally valid theory or hypothesis. Such a goal is neither realistic nor appropriate. In any event, theory in a broader sense will be used to link the hypothesis and the evidence without attempting to deduce one or more universalisms. Their critique of the parallel demonstration of theory is illustrative:

> The Parallel comparativists seek above all to demonstrate that a theory similarly holds good from case to case; for them differences among the cases are primarily contextual particularities against which to highlight the generality of the processes with which their theories are basically concerned (178).

Finding a balance between this approach and the next represents one of the principal tasks of this project.

The contrast of contexts is offered up as the opposite approach to the parallel demonstration of theory. Instead of attempting to arrive at a universalism via theory, the process is inverted and the particularities of cases emerge from a comparison mainly to: "show how these unique features affect the working-out of putatively general social processes" (Skocpol and Somers 1980: 178). The presentation of this approach as the opposite of the parallel approach does not, again, preclude the adaptation of both approaches. One can, after all, attempt to get to the core of something like the reproduction of inequalities through education by looking for similarities *and* differences in the way in which inequalities are reproduced within a given social structure or education system. Which are more important in a comparison, however, particularities or similarities? In a sense, this very question is false, if understanding is to be the goal of the comparison. Can a researcher be sure enough of her or his methodology to deduce a universal theory from similarities between cases? If a

researcher is only interested in particularities, would it not make sense to delineate what constitutes a particularity? Obviously, some kind of universalism would be required to place a realistic cap on what is considered particular (see Chapter 3). Otherwise, absent universal ideas pertaining to norms, processes and scale, particularities would be endless, rendering science impracticable.

A major weakness associated with the parallel demonstration of theory approach is that a theory really cannot be validated through such an approach; if anything, a given theory can be better understood by the reader through this approach, but it cannot be proved. A major weakness associated with the contrast of contexts approach, however, is that it relies on unspecified, universal theoretical assumptions. A theoretical approach which is broad enough to comprehend and organize the universal and particular is necessary. Such will be the goal of Chapters 5 and 6.

2.3. Historical-Comparative Sociology

These approaches are part and parcel of a larger field of research, namely historical institutionalism, which is aimed first and foremost at understanding the evolution of practices and norms embedded within bodies by and through the process of institutionalization. Although this field of scholarship is broad enough to contain multiple approaches, the author is hesitant to provide such a broad label to the means and goals of the present work. Skopcol and Somers, or even Weber and Marx, could be referred to as historical institutionalists, yet lumping them, with their broad scopes of historical, explanatory analysis, together with researchers who focus on narrower social phenomena is not entirely appropriate. What is more, Charles Tilly is generally referred to as a historical institutionalist, although from reading his works, one is left with the impression that this label is perhaps much too narrow, if only because it relies on an open-ended definition of institutions that one could instead call a definition of culture. Tilly (1989), in his *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons*, outlines an exhaustive research program of sorts whereby the evolution of ideas and practices can be traced. Though the spirit of his endeavors and his intellectual intensity are to be commended, his insistence on arriving at causality as the ultimate goal of his program (11) is disquieting, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

To take but one other dominant approach in the field of institutionalism, path dependence, as an example, the built-in logic of the approach is also goal oriented, with the goal being the construction of causal relationships. Dan Breznitz (2010) argues:

> A different way in which past decisions influence the behavior of states and organizations in the present is the *institutional founding pattern*…This web influences those organizations and institutions, but also the ways in which new formal institutions are constructed in the future (21, emphasis in original).

The problem inherent in this approach is that the so-called institutional founding pattern is imbued with too much explanatory power in terms of causality and does not allow for the consideration of contributory events that take place outside of the facile causal relationship.

A further review of the literature related to path dependence and historical institutionalism reveals just how widespread this approach is. Georg Schreyögg and Jörg Sydow (2010), for example, outline a three-phase program for establishing path dependence, namely a critical juncture, a "Path Formation Phase" and a "cognitive, normative or resource-based lock-in, in terms of a pattern underlying actions and/or practices" (8). Although the critical juncture explored in this dissertation has already been defined, it has been done with a healthy dose of skepticism, bearing in mind that the very definition of critical junctures is rife with problems. For instance, Capoccia and Kelemen (2007) argue that the consequences of a given critical juncture are as follows: "the range of plausible choices open to powerful political actors expands substantially and the consequences of their decisions for the outcome of interest are potentially much more momentous" (343). This does little to factor in the haphazardness of decisions discussed above. The arbitrariness of identifying critical junctures must be taken into account; in fact, only by interrogating the assumption behind the given critical juncture can the problem under investigation be framed sufficiently. Rendered differently, if the critical juncture is not interrogated sufficiently, it risks losing its criticalness. In a comparison of nation-states, then, would not the default critical juncture be the Peace of Westphalia? Or even the drafting of the Magna Carta? Is the cause of the cause of the effect not equally important? And what about the cause of the cause of the cause? This is admittedly a huge conceptual problem.

Relating these points to a broader definition of institutionalization, interrogating the object of inquiry by means of institutional theory would be too one-dimensional for the

ambitions of this dissertation. Talcott Parsons (1982) defines institutionalization thusly: "…an articulation or integration of the actions of a plurality of actors in a specific type of situation in which the various actors accept jointly a set of harmonious rules regarding goals and procedures" (117-118). This formalized understanding of institutionalization might pertain well to a narrow institution with a well-defined and organized point of conception. In such a way, one could analyze the institutionalization of, for example, the Bretton Woods organizations throughout their life-spans. Parsons' definition does allow for a modicum of flexibility, though, which becomes apparent via the following clause: "These rules possess their harmonious character by virtue of their derivation, by deliberation and less conscious processes, from common value-orientations which are the same for all members of the institution or the set of institutions in the collectivity" (118). It appears, then, that a degree of homogeneity is an important starting point for institutionalization, and as will be seen throughout the comparison of the Indian and German education systems, this homogeneity has been noticeably absent.

From the preceding paragraphs, it can be stated that certain aspects of institutionalism as a general approach are not appropriate for the present objects of inquiry for at least two reasons: first, that the stated goal of the approach seems to be aimed exclusively at the establishment of causal relationships over a given historical period, with uninterrogated, arbitrary critical junctures being imbued with too much significance; and second, that the definition of institutionalization is insufficient in scope to allow for an analysis of large-scale, multifaceted processes. A broader approach capable of accommodating critique, theory and the idea of institutionalization must be arrived at. To this end, David J. Cooper, Mahmoud Ezzamel and Hugh Willmott (2008) argue: "…Institutional theory is embedded in a distinctive tradition of social scientific inquiry that is preoccupied with the possibility of developing more objective knowledge of what it perceives the social world to be," with the ultimate goal of improving "control of the social world" (674). Here, the authors are attempting to construct a conceptual link between critical theory and institutionalization, a seemingly difficult proposition. Echoing Foucault, the authors further: "A condition of institutionalization, in other words, is subjects' identification with the forms and practices that it reproduces" (675). This – the intersection of critical theory and institutionalism – would provide an ideal starting point for Chapters 3 and 4, but before switching gears, it is necessary to lay out the practical – as opposed to conceptual – methodology employed in this project.

Having already outlined what the author has been precluded from doing in his research, it is now all but required for the author to explain what kind of research he was able to perform: desktop-based reviews of secondary literature. As the contours of the project shifted, it became necessary to transition the focus away from the sociology of education back to general history. Although this has more to do with the learning process than methodology per se, the approach was as follows: to start with (or, in many cases, to revisit) broad historical narratives; followed by a narrowing of focus to "social thought", or the history of ideas in Germany and India; then, a systematic reading of the history of educational forms and systems in each place throughout history; a narrowing of the focus to postwar and post-independence history; and finally, a strict evaluation of postwar and post-independence educational reforms. The variety of sources used will be on full display throughout Chapters 5 and 6, although the impatient reader could skip to the "Works Cited" page to get a glimpse of what is to come. In addition to history books, newspaper articles and historical social data were reviewed and put to use, but as the author is not a trained historian, primary sources as such have not been given preference over secondary sources, which is no doubt a cardinal sin in the field of academic history writing.

In order to aid the process of retention in hopes that it would lead to understanding, notes were made by hand before being reviewed, pruned and transcribed. This approach, no matter how outdated it may appear, is useful in that it causes the researcher to interact with her or his notes, and this repeated interaction allows for connections between different ideas to be made. What is more, this process winnows out the "good" ideas from the "bad", even if it makes scholarship much more labor intensive than it need be. The process of reading, which even included postwar and post-independence fiction, was pluralistic, with the idea being that such an approach would allow for a holistic understanding of the political economy, society, culture and, to use a crude term, *Zeitgeist* of each place at each juncture, an understanding which the author hopes has been sufficiently reflected in the comparison section.

Although this dissertation does not employ methodology particular to the sociology of education, the methodologies used in the field are of significance. That being said, as the methodological approaches to the sociology of education vary in each place, specific references to studies and methods will be made in the section on the general comparison of the education systems. These methodologies will be discussed against the backdrop of

Chapters 4 and 5. Perhaps most importantly, the ideas worked out in the theory chapters provide a conceptual standard whereby the actual reforms can be adjudicated. The standard, to put it as benignly as possible, is related to openness.

2.4. Conclusion

Relying primarily on secondary literature runs the risk of unreflectingly relaying that which is already known. The goals of the methodology section have been: first, to drawn attention to the researcher's connections to the objects of inquiry; second, to underscore the importance of pluralism and thus problematize pre-determined causal relationships; and third, to signpost the methodological considerations that effectively guided the research. Above all, how school systems naturalize and reproduce social inequalities is a question that cannot be tackled with one particular approach. The research topic must be investigated in a pluralistic way by mainly drawing on a range of secondary literature.

3. THE THEORETICAL LINK - SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

*

School systems perform an obscured social role. They often espouse "rational", democratic and egalitarian ideas…

*

If it is true that the world is leaving behind an era of unilateralism in the realm of international affairs and the framing of ideas (Pieterse 2011: 23-24) then a new theoretical approach is necessary. This approach must be self-critical, and it also ought to be able to account for myriad approaches to the study of social phenomena. What is more, the said approach must be able to factor in diverse contingencies and different ways of observing and experiencing the world. Such a task is admittedly difficult in that it requires a certain conceptual leap of faith and, at the same time, runs the risk of producing a theory so broad and convoluted that it leads to confusion and thus cannot contribute to the overall aim of a social scientific work, namely critical understanding. That being said, the goal of developing such a theory is not to explain and then compartmentalize every single social phenomenon but rather to present some kind of common terrain of struggle whereby diverse phenomena – historical, political, economic, cultural, sociological, pedagogic and even geographical – can be set into a dialogue with one another. The nuts and bolts of this approach will emerge in this chapter and the next. The objects of inquiry to be presented in Chapters 5 and 6 are topically and temporally broad, and Chapters 3 and 4 will indeed help to frame the findings.

The point of the theory sections is to allow for a conceptualization of the overlap of social thought, the sociology of education, education and history, with the hope being that a critical understanding of national education systems as illiberal social sorting mechanisms will emerge. The education systems in India and Germany are intertwined with late 19th and early 20th Century imaginations of how the social world functions. It is no doubt the case that any practitioner of the social sciences is "standing on the shoulders of giants". This does not mean, however, that the "giants'" ideas are valid in all places and at all times. This notion opens the door for a critical genealogy of sorts, whereby a given approach and its connection to other approaches can be scrutinized in terms of its ability to conceptualize a good life for the objects about which it purports to speak.

The core of the argument is that India's and Germany's education systems have the time period of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries as their structural, social and even pedagogical points of orientation. These points of orientation cannot and should not simply be wished away; rather, they should be systematically unpacked with the hope being that some kind of balanced, dual orientation can emerge: on the one hand, toward the richness of the past, for a culture cannot sustain itself without reference to a past; and on the other hand, toward an imagination of a future in which education can lead to a good life for everybody. This balance between the past and the future can be understood as a balance between educational conservatism and educational openness. For too long, educational conservatism has dominated approaches to educational reform. For education to be transformative and not merely reproductive, this needs to change.

The sociological and theoretical imagination of the relationship between society and education has evolved considerably over the decades. As Chapters 5 and 6 will bring to bear, the respective education systems in Germany and India have not evolved in line with newer, more critical understandings, even if they have evolved imperfectly in line with the perceived needs of the division of labor. The term educational conservatism refers to this highly problematic dissonance. For formal pedagogy to make a meaningful contribution to the lives of pupils, education systems ought to be reconfigured so as to reflect a critical understanding of the relationship between education, society and transformation, lest the systems continue to simply reproduce in perpetuity the social situations into which pupils were – and will be – born.

With that very point in mind, the organization of this chapter is as follows: first, a discussion of key words as they pertain to this dissertation, with a particular focus on economy, capitalism, inequality and globalization (3.1.); second, a critical survey of classical sociological approaches, with specific reference to the ideas of Durkheim (3.2.1.), Weber (3.2.2.), Marx (3.2.3.) and Gandhi (3.2.4.) as they relate to the imbrication of society and education; and third, a discussion of interpretations and reinterpretations of epistemology (3.3.1.) and theories related to modernity, modernization and liberalism in education (3.3.2., 3.3.3. and 3.3.4.). Chapter 4 will proceed with the "critical turn".

3.1. Economy, Capitalism, Globalization and Inequality

Before proceeding to the "giants" of sociological theory and their imaginations of the link between society and education, it is necessary to discuss four key terms: economy, capitalism, globalization and inequality. After all, understanding an object of inquiry demands a critical examination and, ideally, understanding of the concepts and words surrounding it (Rehbein 2015).

The word economy has myriad modern usages, but the origin of the word attests to its usefulness as an analytical term. The most basic definition thereof, "household management", is derived from the Latinized version of the Greek word *oikonomia*, a word that came into being as a result of the combination of *oikos*, which means "house", and *nemein*, which means "manage" (Oxford Dictionaries: "Economy"). Now, of course, and since roughly the 17th Century, the meaning of the word depends and has depended in large part on context and can be used to reflect many things, for example, the sum of all monetary or financial transactions in a town, city, state, country or the entire world, the relationship between value and money, the management of any kind of resource, etc. This is not to suggest that economy as it is used now is entirely coterminous with capitalism, the next term to be discussed.

The word capitalism in and of itself carries a significant amount of historical and ideological baggage, and this fact is wholly unnecessary considering the relative ease with which the term can be defined, regardless of the historical or ideological perspective from which the term is considered. The foundation for any discussion of capitalism, of course, is

formed either wittingly or otherwise by Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (2007), a treatise which originally appeared in 1776 and gave birth to two of the key components of what became the social sciences, sociology and economics (Wood 1996: 129-142).[12]

Capitalism has long been understood as a combination of endless accumulation and rationality. The Weberian notion of capitalism as the "rational organization of formally free labor" (Giddens 1976: 3) can be criticized to the extent that organization was and has not been rational and that labor was not and has not exactly been free. In the first volume of *Kapital*, Karl Marx (2009) describes the dissolution of bands of feudal retainers in England towards the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th Centuries as having created a mass labor pool consisting of free proletarian, a labor pool which was soon expanded by the further driving away of the peasantry from the land (662). This created the labor infrastructure necessary for capitalist modes of production and accumulation to expand. There is, of course, a certain amount of cynical rationality involved in Marx's understanding and depiction of the historical development of capitalism in England, but more important here is the idea that the emergence of a formally free labor pool happened as a result of agricultural reform and that this reform was based chiefly on dispossession. According to Marx, the impacts were two-fold: first, it prepared the field for capitalist agriculture by turning land into capital; and second, it created for urban industries the necessary pool of "free" workers (677-678).

One of Marx's most fundamental ideas is that the evolution of capitalism turned labor power into a commodity. As such, any physical product produced by work (wheat, iron, a table) loses it beneficial character, becomes a commodity in and of itself and thus can no longer be taken to represent a product of agriculture, metallurgy or carpentry alone but rather represents an abstraction. The abstractions produced, commodities, are the end products of an equally abstracted commodity: human labor (Marx 2009: 52). The latter commodity, in turn,

[12] Giovanni Arrighi (2007) makes some interesting points about Smith's legacy in the field of economics. The first, that Smith is frequently cited but not frequently read, can be understood as a tongue-in-cheek rebuke to students and scholars alike (42). The second point is no doubt related to the first: "Three myths in particular surround [Smith's] legacy: that he was a theorist and advocate of 'self-regulating' markets; that he was a theorist and advocate of capitalism as an engine of 'endless' economic expansion; and that he was a theorist and advocate of the kind of division of labor that occurred in the pin factory" (42).

is dispossessed of the value which it creates via the capitalist modes of production and accumulation (717). The notion of labor being alienated from the value which it creates certainly brings one of the conditions of capitalism, the existence of a pool of formally free labor, into sharper focus. The word free, in particular, is a bit of a misnomer, because the word is generally interpreted as an inherently positive state of being. In any event, its use is ambiguous, and for the sake of clarity, it can be replaced by the word commoditized. Commoditized labor exists in relation to the broader capitalist modes of production and accumulation.[13]

Combining Marx's ideas about the relationship between labor power and capital with a more viable definition of capitalism presented by Weber (1976) provides some additional clarity. He writes:

> The impulse to acquisition, pursuit of gain, of money, of the greatest possible amount of money, has in and of itself nothing to do with capitalism […] Unlimited greed for gain is not in the least identical with capitalism […] But capitalism is identical with the pursuit of profit, and forever *renewed* profit, by means of continuous, rational, capitalistic enterprise (17, emphasis in original).

Weber's understanding of capitalism was forged through his own experience of industrial society. While much ink has been spilled trying to pinpoint the genesis of industrial society, the unremitting focus on the 19th Century is no doubt appropriate. Karl Polanyi (2001), in his much celebrated book, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, put forth the broad argument that the precariousness of industrial society reared its head not as a result of industrialization as such but rather as a result of the structures in which industrialization was embedded. With great brevity, he posited that: "*The congenital*

[13] One mode of analysis which has been at the forefront of most discussions of political economy for the past decades is Immanuel Wallerstein's World-Systems Theory. His definition of capitalism is open-ended and succinct: "a historical system defined by the priority of the *endless* accumulation of capital" (Wallerstein 2004: 92; emphasis in original). For him, capitalism as a production process and mode of accumulation has no bounds and has developed into a world-system. He argues that the norms of the world-system in which the majority of the world currently operates shape and are shaped by the prevailing social realities and that while there have been different qualities to previous historical world-systems, the one of which a majority of the world is currently a part is defined by the relation between labor and capital or, in other words, the modes of capitalist production and accumulation (Wallerstein 2004: 92).

weakness of nineteenth-century society was not that it was industrial but that it was a market society" (258, emphases in original).

This, paired with Weber's arguments, suggests that industrialization – or modernization – in and of itself is not the evil towards which the ire of critical thinkers ought to be directed; rather, the original sin rests in the embeddedness of the market in the institutions and civil society of industrial or modern society. Polanyi's work has given rise to appealing approaches to understanding the institutions which govern the contemporary world, and the notion of the embeddedness of the market lies at the core of both institutional and neo-institutional approaches. A more measured analysis of these approaches in relation to the fields of education, inequality and reproduction will be introduced below. What can be taken away from the broad definitional statements above is that the "origins of our times" rest principally in the 19th century, which may or may not be entirely true, but it is without doubt that the "origins of our times as understood sociologically" are situated in that century. This pertains to the origins of the German and Indian approaches to secondary education, as well.

The connection between education and economy, capabilities and functionings (Sen 2003), etc., is forged by global processes, even if these processes seem anything but global. Even if a pessimistic and succinct definition of globalization was arrived at, many blanks would remain unfilled, fomenting confusion and detracting from the ability to understand the larger points. For example, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (2012), satirically contends: "Globalization takes place only in capital and data. Everything else is damage control" (1). While it would be folly to argue with her logic, that globalization as a world-changing, potentially yet not intrinsically negative force takes place above the heads of a vast majority of the world's population, it would disingenuous to patently ignore the potentially yet not intrinsically positive aspects of globalization. The search for a more suitable definition of the term, a definition which will not leave readers scratching their heads about various thematic connections, will unfold in the following paragraphs. Similar to the definition of the word capitalism, divergent conceptions will be introduced with the goal of synthesizing an approach which is the best, or the least bad, of all available definitions.

Just as Spivak's (2012) definition is perhaps overly cynical, Jagdish Bhagwati's (2007) definition lends itself to an overly optimistic understanding of the term: "Economic globalization [which he admits is his sole focus] constitutes integration of national economies into the international economy through trade, direct foreign investment…, short-term capital

flows, international flows of workers and humanity generally, and flows of technology…" (3). The definition here, admittedly stripped of the nuances contained within the rest of the book, is far too broad for the present purpose, and what is more, it is so broad that it nullifies claims that globalization as a phenomenon is even remotely new or transformative, which would unfittingly place Bhagwati in the "sceptics" camp of "The Great Globalization Debate" (Held & McGrew 2003: 2). The point here is that some kind of middle-ground ought to be found in order to proverbially split the difference in the points of departure of both scholars, who not only come from different fields but find their academic homes in completely different universes. To that end, the first part of Spivak's (2012) definition can be supplanted by Bhagwati's (2007) even more descriptive definition, leaving the "rest" to be defined.

Although any analyst with a sense of humor would find little wrong with Spivak's depiction of the "rest" as "damage control", it is necessary to define the field of the "damage control" in the context of this dissertation. The terrain most applicable here is in between the level of the local and global, an idea that spawned a most obnoxious portmanteau which the author will abstain from relaying. Instead, a more nuanced depiction of globalization can help fill in the blanks. In attempting to pinpoint the characteristics and challenges of the concept, Hermann Schwengel (2006) outlines:

> overlapping societies, migration from above and below, permanent comparison and exchange of ideas and values are demanding new arenas for conflict and consensus in and between societies linking the power structure of one society much closer to the power structure of the others (416).

The closer connection between power structures presents problems, of course. The logic linking together these power structures is the same logic linking education to society. The optimistic notion of "permanent comparison", however, is particularly fitting, because it suggests a state of permanent learning. The "rest" is not merely damage control but rather presents a tremendous opportunity to learn.

The simplest definition of inequality is as follows: "Difference in size, degree, circumstances, etc." (Oxford Dictionaries: "Inequality"). Such an open-ended definition is preferable for the analyst insofar as it appears value-free. Juxtaposing this definition with that of another common dictionary, which defines the term as: "an unfair situation in which some

people have more rights or better opportunities than other people" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary: Inequality), it becomes apparent that the very use of the word can conjure images which are of scant little use to the analyst.[14] Therefore, in understanding the thrust of the arguments that follow, it is of utmost importance that the former, more value-free definition be adhered to. Within the field of the sociology of education, it appears some researchers have a difficult time sticking to the broader definition. To that end, Roger Gomm (2004) argues: "Ethnographic studies in the sociology of education provide many examples where differences in treatment of pupils by teachers are treated as inequalities, and these inequalities as inequities, as if researchers could observe unfairness without making a moral judgment to do so" (286).

Inequity, of course, is roundly negative and can be applied problem-free to situations which the subject views as morally reprehensible. On account of the acute focus on inequality in the media, and of seeming intellectual laziness, the meanings of inequality and inequity have been conflated. While inequity is bad through and through, inequality as a concept is not quite as sinister, except when it comes legal inequality, which is an abomination in all forms. Suggesting that the opposite of social inequality, namely perfect social equality, is realistic or desirable would likely lead to a terrible dystopia akin to the world of Kurt Vonnegut's (1970) "Harrison Bergeron".

The clearest way to conceptualize how social inequality works in the broadest of senses is again the "Functionings and Capability" approach introduced by Sen (2003). To paraphrase his oft-cited argument, the freedom of a person to live a life she or he values is predicated on that person's ability to turn capabilities, meaning what the individual is able to do personally, into functionings, meaning a positive contribution to the society at large (39-55). The external (and then internalized) constraints preventing the translation of capabilities into functionings are unequally distributed. This unequal distribution of abilities to turn capabilities into functionings *is* social inequality. This dissertation will grapple explicitly with

[14] Standard dictionary definitions are no doubt highly problematic. Seeing as though the term has become so visible in public discussions, the author has found it is necessary to start with the simplest definition and then proceed to discuss it.

inequality of opportunity borne through the German and Indian approaches to secondary education.[15]

3.2. Social Thought and Education

The four main conceptions of the link between society and education presented in this section are not the only important ones. The implicit argument, however, is that these are the foundational ideas which shaped the imaginations of the role of education in society prior to the critical junctures in India and Germany. As will be seen throughout this and the subsequent chapters, these ideas are still foundational and still justify and even guide, however blindly, educational reform. It would be nice if these subchapters were merely historical and only applied to Chapter 5 of this dissertation ("Comparison, Sociologies of Education and Education until 1945/1947"). That this is not the case embodies the crisis of imagination and is the tragedy of late-20th Century educational reform in India and Germany.

3.2.1. Durkheim's Approach to Education and Reproduction

Among the first "scientific" approaches to the study of society was Emile Durkheim's (1984) *The Division of Labor in Society*. Picking up where Adam Smith left off with his description of the division of labor, Durkheim posited that a division of labor was all but definitive in determining social roles and, in turn, social structures. He suggests:

> At first sight nothing appears easier than to determine the role of the division of labour…Since it increases both the productive capacity and the skill of the workman

[15] "Inequality of effort", although treating it different from inequality of effort is highly problematic (Singh 2012: 79-80), will not be a central point of focus.

> [sic], it is the necessary condition for the intellectual and material development of societies; it is the source of civilization (Durkheim 1984: 12).

After positing this argument, he explores the moral character of this source of civilization and suggests that the division of labor does not contain its own morality per se but that the individual does and thus serves as a vessel of sorts for morality. What is more, science itself contains morality and can thus ease the tension between the division of labor and the individual (13-14). This suggests that the very rationalization of the division of labor contains within it a morality that is extended to the individual, which is capable of being moral, but not to the structure which defines that individual's role in society, the division of labor itself. Morality, then, is contained within the civilization-defining logic of the division of labor, though paradoxically the division of labor is for the most part amoral.

At the core of Durkheim's approach was the Cartesian conviction that the social sciences should first and foremost aspire to arrive at universal laws, and that in so doing, science – or rationalization – becomes in and of itself a moral endeavor. It follows, then, that the scientist, in pursuing universal laws and, in accordance, rationalizing the division of labor in a given society, is a kind of moral vanguard, filling in the moral void left in the division of labor. In other words, to broaden the critique, the practice of science is intrinsically moral, because its goal is the realization of universal truths, and these truths, on account of their being universal, must be divine, a point which Durkheim likely would have abhorred (Rehbein 2015: 28-31). Together, these ideas underscore a specific epistemological problem, a problem which for the time being must be left unaddressed. For the present purpose, the idea that there is an assumed morality, or lack thereof, behind the division of labor will suffice.

Among the myriad problems with Durkheim's approach, at least as seen through the lens of a much different world from the one he was describing, is the moral deficiency of the division of labor in society. These notions of morality and rationalization, however, cannot together form any kind of meaningful relation. Durkheim viewed his science as an inherently moral undertaking, and thus his descriptions of the relationship between the division of labor and what he referred to as organic solidarity in society offered moral clarity. It is important to note here that his approach to social science was primarily focused on describing the social world in the context of maturing, industrial societies. This focus becomes even more

pronounced when comparing his work to more prescriptive works, including that of Karl Marx.

Before outlining other ideas, however, it would be most useful to discuss the conceptual link between the division of labor in a society and what Durkheim (1984) referred to as organic solidarity. In short, the rationalized division of labor in a given society leads to an organic solidarity by means of creating a social whole (68-71). For this social whole to be comprehended sufficiently, the division of labor or the division of social roles is in constant need of redefinition to account for social change (14). The unique problem to this approach, however, emerges when one considers the one constant variable throughout the process, namely rationalization. This scientific rationalization must remain intact for the society to be moral. Overall, this link between science and society can inhibit change, because society is capable of transforming at such a rate as to render the scientific approach to it obscure.

Although Durkheim's imagination of society exerted a powerful influence on the burgeoning field, it is not without additional conceptual shortcomings, not least of which is related to the idea of social structure. Durkheim's objects of analysis, as mentioned above, were maturing, industrial societies, and at the time of his writing the book described here, the 1890s, these societies represented for the most part culturally, religiously and linguistically homogeneous, territorially defined, bureaucratically administered nation-states. Society could be comfortably presented as a closed container. The deficiencies associated with this approach become even more pronounced when considering Durkheim's ideas concerning the relationship between education and social structure.

It is important to first understand Durkheim's different conceptions of solidarity. The link between the social structure and the division of labor achieves an organic solidarity in a society, and this idea is contrasted with the notion of what he refers to as mechanical solidarity, whereby individuals are held together by stronger family and community ties. Another way of understanding the different solidarities he presents is to think back to the definition of economy presented above. Economy, in the beginning, had to do with the management of the household in order to achieve unity in the household and, by extension, the community. The relatively narrow usage of the term underwent an extensive vertical shift, and economy became the purview of much larger structures, namely the bureaucracy of nascent nation-states. In Durkheim's portrayal of the two kinds of solidarity, then, the broader understanding of the word could be applied to mature societies, with the division of labor

reflecting the correct order of things, whereas the older, simpler conception of economy as household management could be applied to non-modern, non-industrial, "tribal" societies.

With this dichotomy and the notion of the rationalized division of labor in mind, an analysis of Durkheim's work as related to education is most illustrative of the shortcomings of his approach. According to Durkheim (1956): "Society can survive only if there exists among its members a sufficient degree of homogeneity; education perpetuates and reinforces this homogeneity by fixing in the child, from the beginning, the essential similarities that collective life demands" (70-71). This relationship between education and society is fairly straightforward. Although Durkheim does not elaborate much on homogeneity, it can be assumed that this homogeneity is manufactured at least partly by and through the socializing features of the education system. Precisely how the "essential similarities that collective life demands" are fixed into a pupil via society and education will be examined later. Equating the principal goal of education with socialization is still widespread throughout the field, and the critical turn which emerged much later and has allowed for an interrogation of the very idea behind education as socialization can be traced to this notion of the relationship between society and education.

Part and parcel of this socialization as understood by Durkheim (1956) was diversity, or better yet, the diffusion of necessary skills throughout the whole of society: "But on the other hand, without a certain diversity all co-operation would be impossible; education assures the persistence of this necessary diversity by being itself diversified and specialized" (71). Here, it is possible to draw a connecting line between the division of labor and education. Just as the division of labor lends to society a certain solidarity, this solidarity is in turn dependent on a static reproduction of the social structure by means of education. This is not to say that Durkheim promoted a differentiated system of education in perpetuity; rather, a transformation in the structure of education could only take place subsequent to a broader social evolution: "If the society has reached a degree of development such that the old divisions into castes and classes can no longer be maintained, it will prescribe an education more uniform at its base" (71). Social change is thus something that can happen, but the origin of such a change cannot be traced back to the socialization or education process.

For Durkheim, absent such a broad social evolution toward the deconstruction of the divisions of castes and classes, the solution would be further specialization in line with an ongoing rationalization of the division of labor: "If at the same time there is more division of

labor, it will arouse among children, on the underlying basic set of common ideas and sentiments, a richer diversity of occupational aptitudes" (Durkheim 1956: 71). It is important to note here the way in which the word diversity is used: it refers not to the diversity of the individual pupil, but the diversity amongst the pupils together. This not only reveals the conservatism of Durkheim's approach to education but also speaks volumes to some intractable conceptual problems within his portrayal of how social change takes place.

The reader stands to be reminded that Durkheim's approach did not encompass all societies in the world at all times. Although he aspired to arrive at universal laws regarding the composition of society, his ideas are both geographically and temporally limited. That being said, deconstructing the tendency toward universalism in his works allows the researcher to highlight useful components with the hope that these components can be set up in relation to other ideas and then put to use in a critical process of discovery. As mentioned above, Durkheim recognized that the given division of labor could evolve and that this evolution could threaten (productive) social divisions, and he thus arrives at two options for the education system: uniformity or an even further diversity of specialization. Linking the idea of social evolution to the banal definition of capitalism presented above, minor changes in the division of labor are endless insofar as the pursuit of progress, too, is endless. This begs the question: what could possibly drive such a fundamental change so as to allow divisions to be reconstructed? If capitalism is equated with further specialization in the division of labor, and this further specialization in the division of labor is reflected in the further specialization of the education system, what short of a system- and division of labor-destroying revolution could allow for a "uniform" system of education? It appears, then, that Durkheim's idea of a uniform education system is a bit of a red herring.

All of this can be learned from this brief analysis Durkheim's approach to society and education: first, the logic of specialization in education is tied to a particular and highly problematic logic related to the importance of the division of labor in society, a thoroughly functionalist approach which obtains in many contemporary approaches to education; second, organic and mechanical solidarity are not mutually exclusive, an idea yet to be unpacked; and third, that understanding the context of ideas is as important as the ideas themselves. These issues will be set in relation to other ideas that will emerge throughout the rest of this chapter. The thread linking Durkheim's ideas to those in the field whom he preceded is his notion of the connection between education and society:

> …among men [sic] the aptitudes of every kind that social life presupposes are much too complex to be able to be contained, somehow, in our tissues and to take the form of organic predispositions. It follows that they cannot be transmitted from one generation to another by way of heredity. It is through education that the transmission is effected… (Durkheim 1956: 73).

This theme, reproduction, is the lynchpin in the relationship between education and society, a relationship which has become highly problematic.

3.2.2. Weber, Rationalization, History and Education

Defining Weber's approach is complicated, if only because it is much broader than that of Durkheim. As discussed in the methodology section, Weber's approach to comparative history followed the idiographic, contrast of contexts rubric, whereby he analyzed and set historical events in relation to one another in an attempt to pinpoint the source of a given structural phenomenon. Such was the case in his most cited book, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, whereby he was convincing in arguing that the wellspring of capitalism could be traced to specific cultural phenomena which were enriched and empowered by Calvinist doctrine, which in turn had its roots in the Reformation (Weber 1976: 104-106). While Durkheim sought a universal law which could explain the development of social system from within, Weber's research program involved attempting to explain the social system via comparison with other cultural systems. In fact, Weber's (1976) approach was even broader when one considers that The *Protestant Ethic* was but the beginning of a long project, a project which would never come to complete fruition. In the "Author's Introduction", which Weber published fifteen years after the initial publication of his work, he points out the shortcomings of his own approach, namely that "only one side of the causal chain" is treated (27). Before moving on with this point, it should be noted that, seen through the perspective of contemporary political correctness, Weber was an unavowed racist and jingoist. In the same "Author's Introduction", he acknowledges the importance of "biological heredity" for understanding differences between East and West (30) and expresses hope for the explanatory power of the then-burgeoning field of "racial neurology" (31). To

admire a work for its intellectual acumen and intensity is not coterminous with endorsing every clause in that work. This point holds true for all thinkers cited in this dissertation.

To bring the discussion back to Weber's notion of causality, it appears causality was at least somewhat peripheral to his hermeneutic process of understanding. He overtly mentions establishing causal relationships as the goal of his work, and the conclusion he draws regarding the spirit of capitalism is indeed causal in line with Mill's method of difference. The causal relationship is not all-explaining but is instead rife with what can be referred to as independent variables. In a sense, then, what Weber was attempting to do was to understand his objects of analysis from cultural, historical, social, religious and economic points of view, with an emphasis on interpretation and meaning, without precluding the existence of causal relationships (Giddens 1976: 2). Although it could be argued that Weber was never able to completely synthesize his approaches, his goal was, like Durkheim, the establishment of universal laws. Like Durkheim and Marx, Weber was looking for laws which shape the way history unfolds (Rehbein 2015: 92). His pluralistic approach to history, culture and society unfolded against the backdrop of a strong Eurocentrism, something for which he cannot be blamed, but nonetheless something which should give the contemporary researcher pause in her or his endeavors to operationalize Weber's ideas in order to understand the world.

Weber's ideas regarding education, calling, bureaucracy and reproduction are certainly worth considering, at least insofar as, like Durkheim, he exerted a great influence on the field. In "The 'Rationalization' of Education and Training", for example, he writes: "Educational institutions on the European continent…are dominated by the need for the kind of 'education' that produces a system of special examinations and the trained expertness that is increasingly indispensable for modern bureaucracy" (Weber 1946: 240). This point of tension between a "new" educational approach which could supply bureaucratic organs with appropriately trained specialists and an "old" humanistic approach to education was of central importance for cultural questions, as well: "This fight is determined by the irresistibly expanding bureaucratization of all public and private relations of authority and by the ever-increasing importance of expert and specialized knowledge" (242). The connection between rationalism, education, bureaucracy and domination is fairly explicit in Weber's writing, but this connection does bear some clarification. Bureaucratic structures are "everywhere a late product of development", and education geared toward bureaucratic efficiency – the "new" approach – is part of a larger program of rationalism, which in the end has overthrown or will

overthrow the "old" approach ("the cultivated man") which "was stamped by the structure of domination" (242). In summation, Weber argues: "The march of bureaucracy has destroyed structures of domination, which had no rational character, in the special sense of the term" (243). It is altogether likely that Weber was justifiably uncomfortable with such a strong statement, so he augmented it by concluding: "Hence, we may ask: What were these structures?" (243). Weber had an inordinate amount of faith in bureaucratic rationalization.

Although Marx's approach to history, its totality and its logic, will be discussed in the next subsection, it is illuminating here to consider Weber's approach to causality and history in contrast to the field of historical materialism. While historical materialists argue that the logic behind history and the way it unfolds is ultimately shaped by economic events and changes, an idea which persists in the field and which leads to tidy connections between cause and effect and independent and dependent variables, Weber sought to frame the question in a much different way, combining the materialist approach with cultural considerations. Weber (1976) frames his project thusly: "…we must free ourselves from the idea that it is possible to deduce the Reformation, as a historically necessary result, from certain economic changes" (90-91). The social world, at least for Weber, was an amalgamation of different flows of ideas, structures and symbols, which together gave birth to a certain imagination of the world.

He does not go so far as to argue that the link between the capitalist spirit and the protestant ethic was entirely an accident of history, but he also does not believe that such a development was predetermined. The alternative he introduces is to examine correlations – or relations – between economy, social and political organizations and religious sentiments, a much more taxing exercise than merely plugging phenomena into a predetermined theory of how the world and its history function. He argues:

> …we can only proceed by investigating whether and at what points certain correlations between forms of religious beliefs and practical ethics can be worked out…we shall clarify the manner and the general direction in which, by virtue of those relationships, the religious movements have influenced the development of material culture (Weber 1976: 91-92).

Although Weber was never able to completely synthesize his ideas and find a law dictating the way in which history has unfolded and will unfold, his attempts are nonetheless laudable

insofar as he sought to understand wide-ranging events (both geographically and otherwise) without adhering to a rigid, predetermined structure. The mere fact that he attempted to challenge the materialist orthodoxy of the burgeoning field of political economy by introducing the possibility that non-material culture could play a substantial role in shaping the world left a lasting impression on the social sciences. While his ideas unfolded against the backdrop of the notion of a totality, it can at least be said that the totality under which he sought to subsume the social world was more textured and allowed for a more complete, nuanced understanding of the way in which the world works in its totality.

From the preceding paragraphs, the following ideas can be extracted and eventually set into a relation with other explanatory mechanisms, both from Durkheim as outlined above as well as from Marx, whose ideas will be outlined below, before bringing all these ideas into a relation with their ideological successors: first, that knowledge of the social world cannot simply be deduced from a rigid theory. Even though Weber was ultimately looking to identify causal relationships, he was able to successfully put into practice a multifaceted approach to non-material, cultural developments outside of the well-defined realms of positivism and political economy, namely through an emphasis on understanding. For him, understanding must precede an explanation, not the other way around. That he was tentative in his conclusions about historical causality is admirable, because it suggests he came up against the limits of his abilities to understand the social world. Second, the idea that there are no universal, historical, social laws is a very important point, an idea which opened him up to a great deal of criticism. The third idea to be taken from Weber, an idea related to the first two points, is that understanding history is important for understanding the motivations of social actors, a point which demands a more arduous, idiographic approach to the study of the interrelated concepts of history and society.

Before moving on to Marx and his approach to society, social structure and, ultimately, reproduction, it is necessary to briefly engage with Weber's ideas toward reproduction. In addition to his suggesting that reproduction through education, coupled with a novel pedagogical approach toward subject matter, was necessary in line with a newfound bureaucratic rationalization, he made some interesting historical observations/assertions about how social structure can be reproduced via education and vice versa. In ruminating on the ways in which school performance differed between Catholics and Protestants in Germany, he posits: "That the percentage of Catholics among the students and graduates of

higher educational institutions in general lags behind their proportion of the total population may, to be sure, be largely explicable in terms of inherited differences of wealth" (Weber 1976: 38). Here, he highlights but one element of social inheritance and does not venture to suggest other reasons. In this case, a materialist explanation suffices, even though Weber is admittedly confused about the underperformance of Catholics in the economy at large, which ran counter to a tendency he observed amongst religious minorities. He furthers: "National or religious minorities which are in a position of subordination to a group of rulers are likely, through their voluntary or involuntary exclusion from positions of political influence, to be driven with particular force into economic activity" (39).

If these two notions were to be logically combined, something which Weber admittedly did not really try to do, it would follow that the progenies of religious minorities, because of the inclination of their parents toward economic action as a result of being excluded from the political field, would therefore outperform their non-coreligionists in education, because educational success is tied directly to inherited wealth. This notion, transposed onto the canvas of contemporary life, appears entirely absurd, and while the first argument (that student performance depends on the material resources of the parents) reflects at least a fraction of the social reality, it becomes readily apparent to even the most casual of observers that the connection between the first clause and the second is nonexistent. Even if the second argument was true, and Weber in turn provides examples of when this had been the case, this would speak merely to the material side of life and not to the entirety of the symbolic universe. That being said, even if the Catholics as a religious minority had at the time been able to accumulate proportionately more material wealth than their compatriots, it would have been likely that they would have lacked the level of educational attainment enjoyed by the Protestants precisely because of their being cut off from the workings of the state.

While Weber was correct in describing one of the mechanisms of social reproduction via education – that children of affluent parents are more likely to enjoy educational success and then study at university – it is altogether likely that he placed far too much importance on this factor, as evidenced by the contradiction identified above. The argument that the symbolic universe itself determines, and to a large extent is determined by, social structure and the reproduction thereof will be explored in greater depth in Chapter 4. As will become evident through the introduction and analysis of Bourdieu's outlook on social structure,

reproduction and education, the heritability of material resources is but one aspect which shapes the social world and at that may not even be the most significant. Money talks, but other things can leave bigger footprints.

3.2.3. Marx, History, Production and Reproduction

According to Karl Marx (2009), money in the form of the means of production leaves a footprint so large as to render the smaller imprints left within it inconsequential. Before launching into an analysis of Marx's works in relation to the object of inquiry, it is necessary to frame the discussion by highlighting the ways in which Marx's ideas are used, misused, protected and denounced. Writing about Marx's ideas without being a political Marxist or anti-Marxist is rife with risk. So much ink, not to mention blood, has been spilled pillorying and defending Marx that it is most appropriate to label the gatekeepers of either approach as delusional (secular) religious fanatics who are interested in power of the political, ideological and/or academic kind and are, with that, uninterested in attempting to *understand* a given object of inquiry. What follows is a dispassionate analysis of the ideas presented by an economic historian and theoretician and should be read as such, lest the ideological sensibilities of the reader be offended.[16] This brief section will not engage much with the impressive volume of secondary literature about Marx and his ideas. For now, the foundations of Marx's approach and his ideas regarding reproduction and education will be discussed in terms of what he wrote and said about the topics, which will prove indispensable as the analysis transitions to the various adaptations of Marxian approaches in Chapter 4.

The evolution of capitalism and the relations of production as understood by Marx have already been discussed perfunctorily in section 3.1. To rehash the points briefly, capitalism emerged as a result of historical changes in material conditions (the capitalization of agriculture and the resultant growth of an urban population base combined with

[16] In order to sidestep petty semantic controversies, the ideas and quotations cited below have all been translated from the original by the author.

technological developments), and these conditions were necessary for late-stage capitalism and its connected division of labor and social structure to develop. With his analysis of the development of capitalism in England, Marx was attempting to arrive at a universal conception of the way in which society develops and history unfolds.

Human practice is the driving force behind history, and human practice always unfolds in relation to material conditions. Human activities are by nature material, and this very idea provides an impetus for his ideas about historical laws. Because English capitalism was the most advanced version of capitalism at the time, it followed that in the history of the most developed form of what would soon become a widespread phenomenon – capitalism – the keys to understanding historical laws and turning the orientations of these laws to the future reside in the history of the development of English capitalism, which at root is what *Kapital* is all about (Rehbein 2015: 62-64). The endless accumulation of capital and the attached rationalized division of labor, then, form the basis of a universal historical law. The beginning of this universal historical law is formulated thusly: "The circulation of commodities is capital's point of departure. The production of commodities, their circulation and trade [developed circulation of commodities] form the historical preconditions under which capital arises" (Marx 2009: 149; translated by author).

Although Marx did not write much about the specific role of education in the division of labor, his focus on the concept of reproduction is illuminating for the purposes here. By reproduction, however, he was referring specifically to the reproduction of the means of production, but the idea is nonetheless straightforward: "The conditions of production are the same as the conditions of reproduction. No society can continually produce, or reproduce, without reconverting a part of its products [surplus] into means of production or components of new products" (Marx 2009: 521; translated by author), meaning production and reproduction are logically connected as conceptual parts of the endless accumulation of capital. Surplus needs to be reinvested in order to assure that the necessary conditions for reproduction exist. Marx's (2009) arguments concerning social reproduction follow the selfsame logic. "The reproduction of the working class includes at the same time the transmission and accumulation of aptitude from one generation to another" (529; translated by author). This notion of reproduction reveals a connecting logic between economic and social reproduction. From this, one can deduce that capitalism relies in large part on the social reproducibility of the relationship between people and the means of production and that the

social reproduction of the system is part and parcel of the economic reproduction of the system.

Similar to Durkheim, Marx believed that the logic of social reproduction unfolds according to historical laws. What is more, history did not arise from a series of coincidences but arose from a logical unfolding of productive relations. That Marx wrote very little about the role of education and, more specifically, the logic behind the reproductive dynamic of education, is somewhat confounding, but it can be surmised that Marx did not believe there could be a parallel, subversive educational logic. The logic of the endless accumulation of capital represented a totality, and the unwritten yet by-him-prophesized unfolding of history would redeem any temporary shortcomings. This much becomes clear from these lines:

> The capitalist mode of production, viewed in its own context or as a reproductive process, produces not only goods and not merely surplus value; rather, it produces and reproduces the productive relationship itself between, on the one side, the capitalists and, on the other, the workers (Marx 2009: 534; translated by author).

With those lines, one would expect Marx to have damning words for the reproduction of this relationship via education. Instead of deducing what his approach to education was from his historical and theoretical works, it is possible to *cautiously* interpret some of his political criticisms, namely his suggestions for the First International. It bears mentioning that this is admittedly difficult, because there is a fully understandable tendency to separate the older Marx from the younger Marx and the historical, analytical Marx from the political Marx (Judt 2009: 107). Nonetheless, his statements regarding the role of education in society are instructive.

His imagination of education was similar to that of Durkheim's in that he believed education should play a functional role. "The arrangement of a curriculum should be adapted to a step-by-step, progressive spiritual [humanistic], athletic and polytechnic training for the youth amongst the working class" (Marx, *Vorschläge für das Programm der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation*, MEW 16, 194 f.; translated by author). In this way, his ideas about education did not differ greatly from the general ideas in circulation at the time. He was not looking to exploit any kind of latent revolutionary potential in the field of education; rather, education should simply underscore the reproduction of the relationship between capital and

labor. The unfolding of history would take care of the rest. It could be concluded that Marx's approach to education was quasi-functionalist and even conservative.

Some of his ideas about education were so functionalist, in fact, as to cause one to question the wisdom of his approach. For example, he argued:

> In a rational condition of society, every child from nine years onwards should become a productive worker, just as no adult capable of labor should be excluded from natural law, namely to work in order to be able to eat, and to not only work with their brains but also with their hands (Marx, *Vorschläge für das Programm der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation*, MEW 16, 193f; translated by author).

He goes on to propose a system of practical training and makes suggestions for the amount of training (i.e. labor) to be performed for each age group (MEW 16, 193f). Marx's approach to education was to optimize social reproduction so as to more rationally lead history along its path, namely toward proletarian revolution.

Having already provided credence for the idea that Marx's approach to education was functionalist or rational in a way similar to Durkheim's and Weber's, at least as far as the means of the means-ends relationship are concerned, and having relayed some broad ideas about Marx's understanding of history, what moves it and how it unfolds, it is necessary to attempt to arrive at some tentative conclusions regarding what can be taken away from this section. The first point is that material relations play a decisive role in shaping the social world. A more nuanced critique of materialism will follow, but the logical totality of Marx's approach is appealing, and his ideas certainly cannot be dismissed wholesale. The second key point, one related to the first, concerns the logic behind the connection between production and reproduction. Reproduction is geared first and foremost toward ensuring that the conditions for production are able to be sustained and expanded.

3.2.4. Gandhi, Civilizational, Education and Society

Although Gandhi's inclusion here may appear anachronistic, it will provide a frame of reference for understanding the critical approaches to follow. Gandhi's ideas, of course, came later than the ideas of Durkheim, Weber and Marx. What is more, his epistemological point of departure was much different from that of the thinkers outlined above. He was not interested in arriving at scientifically formulated, causal relationships. He certainly did not strive to discover or uncover immutable universal "laws". Instead, he appeared to be most interested in overcoming colonial rule, not just in the narrow sense of securing political freedom, but in the championing of a particular morality transmitted via non-British – or "indigenous" – educational structures.

To that end, he recognized the tensions inherent in modernization, viewed these tensions as pathological and sought to develop a program whereby the tensions between the modern and the traditional could be circumvented. Gandhi's views of education differed from the ideas of the thinkers outlined above in at least three ways: first, he did not believe that education should be focused on supporting the social/political system as it was constituted at the time by transmitting necessary bureaucratic and technical skills; second, he believed education's primary function was moral, not functional; and third, he did not view society as the best possible society. In other words, and different from some of his Indian contemporaries, he was not Eurocentric and did not champion utopian, "modern" views of society. It is admittedly difficult to parse Gandhi's ideas and separate the thinker from the political maneuverer, but the next paragraphs will attempt to engage with his ideas regarding education.

In his *Autobiography: The Story of My Experiences with Truth*, Gandhi (1983) attempts to develop a novel approach to education. Similar to the ideas put forth by Durkheim and Marx, his pedagogical "experiment" was founded on a three-prong approach: literary training, vocational training and moral training (298-303). He put this approach into practice in South Africa with a group of young pupils of Indian origin who had theretofore only been educated in terms of "the three R's" (299).[17] Although it is unclear whether or not Gandhi

[17] "The three R's" refer to reading, writing and arithmetic.

concluded that his experiment was a success, it comes through strongly that he viewed the three-pronged approach as having the potential to promote strength of character. For Gandhi, then, this strength of character is the desired end of education, an idea that, at least in isolation, appears liberal. It seems he was not only gearing his ideas toward the toppling of the colonial system, but he was imagining ways in which an independent India could recover from the trauma of colonialism and find a way forward. His appeals for building strength of character should also be understood in relation to his ideas about modernization, namely that India could not afford to subject itself to the processes of European-style industrialization and that the focus should rather migrate back to an emphasis on what Durkheim might have referred to as mechanical solidarity. It follows, then, that education should support self-sufficiency and moral strength, not bureaucratic efficiency and technocratic change.

His idea emerged not only from the moral catastrophe of colonialism but the resulting human wreckage associated with the dissolution of traditional life. Polanyi (2001), for example, argued: "Indian masses in the second half of the nineteenth century did not die of hunger because they were exploited by Lancashire; they perished in large numbers because the Indian village community had been demolished" (167). Gandhi's endeavors in the field of education can be interpreted as a reimagination of the link between the village community and education, a link all but obliterated by the British, with an eye toward avoiding the catastrophes associated with industrialization. Gandhi not only lamented the imposition of British rule on India; rather, he lamented the imposition of European modernity in general. He wrote: "If India copies England, it is my firm conviction that she [sic] will be ruined" (Gandhi 1999, 10: 258).

This speaks to a general skepticism regarding industrialization along European lines. In attempting to define the ills of English and European civilization, Gandhi (1999) furthered:

> It is not due to any particular fault of the English people, but the condition is due to modern civilization. It is a civilization only in name. Under it the nations of Europe are becoming degraded and ruined day by day (10: 258).

This idea contrasts nicely with the ideas put forth by Durkheim. Far from assuming that the present society was the best possible society, Gandhi recognized the brutal pathologies of modern civilization and to that end could even be thought of as a vanguard for post-modern thought. The accuracy of this label is admittedly specious. Unfortunately, however, it will be

necessary to attempt to categorize Gandhi's approach for the sake of setting his ideas into a kind of relation with the ideas and approaches outlined in the paragraphs above.

Gandhi did not identify any kind of foreign social process or structure he thought was worthy of being replicated; rather, he was more interested in dismantling the foreign civilizational structure that reigned over India. His approach to education was aimed at that and at recreating a moral foundation for Indian society, a foundation which could prevent the mass suffering associated with colonial domination and industrialization. Before moving on to further iterations of the four thinkers outlined so far in this section, it is important to briefly discuss what can be taken away from Gandhian thought: first, that a skeptical or even cynical approach to the idea of Western civilization can be appropriate; second, that an educational approach does not have to be connected to a larger social structure; and third, and related to the first two points, an approach to education can be anti-systemic or even subversive. Gandhi's comments about the perils of European civilization presaged the outbreak of World War I, a global cataclysm that no doubt caused many to doubt the character of modernity.

3.2.5. Labels and Relations

The logic behind presenting these four thinkers in such an order, and of excluding other important social theorists, is that the ones presented here – Durkheim, Weber, Marx and Gandhi – epitomize distinct yet somewhat paradoxically overlapping schools of thought. This is not to say that only these thinkers have shaped the field and that the rest can be allowed to lapse into obscurity; rather, these approaches embody categories of thinking which have left indelible impressions on the unfolding approaches to the relationship between society and education. In order to establish relations between ideas, it is unfortunately necessary to assign broad labels to each approach. These labels are, of course, mere abstractions, and their usefulness will become evident at perhaps the same moment that their boundaries become fuzzy. The labels are as follows: functionalism (or positivism), interpretivism (or antipositivism), materialism and anti- or post-modernism. These labels are not intended to encapsulate every approach to the social world but are rather intended to provide a frame of reference for the unpacking of a theory linking education and society.

The first relation to be constructed must attempt to bridge the divide between universalism and relativism. While it can be stated that the functionalist and materialist approaches have as their goals the discovery and then implementation of universal laws, the same cannot necessarily be said of interpretivism and anti-modernism. Durkheim and Marx, for example, formulated their theories against the backdrop of the idea that the current manifestation of society was the best possible one, at least at the moment. Notions of power and hegemony were not critically interrogated by Durkheim. In fact, obedience and conformity were viewed as necessary qualities for social solidarity. For Marx, power and hegemony were problematic yet necessary steps in the unfolding of history.

The implications of their approaches are myriad. More important for the present purposes is the notion that both ideas created a universal standard whereby all societies, insofar as they adhered to this standard, could become modern. For Durkheim, France's social structure was the standard; for Marx, Britain's political economy was to be emulated. For Durkheim, the division of labor begot organic solidarity; for Marx, the relationships between capital, labor and the mode of production were decisive.[18] The main thread linking the two thinkers together was that they believed they had successfully developed and/or discovered universal laws, laws that could shape the development of the world and could provide a roadmap for becoming modern and civilized. That their ideas shaped the development of the world is undeniable, but this speaks nothing to the universal applicability or appropriateness of them.

Relativism, the logically problematic opposite of universalism, is, to be sure, a difficult concept. Weber, who like Durkheim and Marx sought to arrive at universal laws, was at the very least open to cultural explanations of worldly phenomena, a position which is really neither universalistic nor relativistic. Although he expounded on the virtues of bureaucratic rationalization and the rise of capitalism, he also recognized the cultural situatedness of his own approach and was not really an advocate of spreading the Protestant ethic to all corners of the world. His historical research program, in which he attempted to

[18] To make his ideas even more universal, and recognizing the inapplicability of his theory regarding the historical evolution of productive structures for a majority of the world, Marx eventually developed his ideas about the Asiatic mode of production (Wallerstein 2004: 13).

analyze Western religion, Chinese religion, Indian religion and Judaism, speaks more to a pluralism of research interests than to a relativistic value interpretation, although the latter is exactly what Weber was accused of for his insistence on a value-free scientific approach (Mittleman 1999: 15-16). That a tentativeness to suggest there are universal laws from which society can be deduced has become coterminous with relativism is absurd. Gandhi, too, has been accused of relativism, mainly on the basis of his idea that truth is always contingent (Rudolph and Hoeber Rudolph 2006: 6). In reading Gandhi, however, one is able to grasp the idea that there is something like universal, divine truth but that it is a concept too powerful for a person to comprehend. Instead of being an end to be arrived at, universal truth should be an orientation, even though it is something that truly cannot be recognized or rationalized. Relative truth can thus serve as a stepping stone of sorts to the universal (Gandhi 1983: ix).

The universal-relative dichotomy represents a false choice. Universalism serves as a fine point of orientation, as evinced by Gandhi and Weber, but a universal law from which society can be perfectly deduced is a potentially dangerous illusion. A given division of labor or mode of production always interacts with different, non-universal social institutions, norms, mores, etc., and the intensity of this interaction can neither be predicted nor perfectly comprehended. Natural laws, for example Newton's natural law of universal gravitation, interact with a measurable, predictable and uniform-enough set of conditions, even if the conditions unfold at an unimaginable distance from the scientist's workplace. This allows for a scientist to speak with near certainty about the presence of water on one of Saturn's moons, for example, a place he or she would never imagine visiting. A social scientific object of inquiry, however, demands a much different approach. The conditions which influence the interaction between so-called universal social scientific laws and their objects of inquiry, because of their complexity, are neither predictable nor sufficiently measurable, a fact which speaks to the inappropriateness of value-laden universal laws as desired ends. To repeat: universalism serves as a noble and even moral point of orientation for the social sciences, but it should be treated with due skepticism and not as an analytical starting point. This concept will be referred to tentatively as non-chimeric universalism.

The second relation to be interrogated is the tension between modern and traditional. The concepts are often formulated differently, for example: civilized and uncivilized; North and South; developed and undeveloped. For Durkheim, the ideas of modern and traditional were embedded in his two different kinds of solidarity, organic and mechanical. A

prerequisite for achieving organic solidarity is a rationalized division of labor determined by (capitalistic) market forces. Organic solidarity is the hallmark of a modern society. If a given society wishes to become modern, it must shed its penchant for mechanical solidarity inducing, smaller-level ties and adhere to a rationalized division of labor. Weber's idea, that modernization occurs via rationalization, is somewhat similar. Marx's notion of modern is roughly a condition whereby the mode of production is coupled with technological change leading to increased urbanization and, relatedly, industrialization, and that these steps are necessary, axiomatic social-historical processes. It should come as no surprise that modernity's point of departure for each thinker was industrial/industrializing Europe.

This can all be viewed as the beginning of the *systematic* spreading of the Enlightenment project, which provided a perverse justification for the second wave of European colonialism and displayed a "rational" as opposed to religious character. Europe was the most developed and therefore the most modern place/culture as a result of a certain rationalization, thus justifying the subjugation of colonial peoples. It follows that universal laws need not worry about cultural, social or other particularities.

The effect of this historical conception of universal and rational social laws is perhaps best exemplified by means of critique. Edward W. Said (2001), for example, refers to the academic, discursive and popular approaches to the non-west as Orientalism, which he defines as: "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (3). This happens via a wide range of activities including: "dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it" (3). This perspective reveals nothing about the modern-traditional dichotomy. Instead, it is a critique of the conceit of the modern when approaching the traditional. Whether and how this conceit can be overcome will be discussed later.

Said's analysis is important here in that it is an historical recreation of a particular discourse, a discourse about "otherness" that precedes Durkheim, Weber, Marx and Gandhi, meaning the discourse likely informed their ideas. An important part of Said's critique is the notion that some people must be spoken for. For example, he selects this quote from Marx in order to frame the book: "They cannot represent themselves; they must be represented" (Marx cited in Said 2001). Lifted from *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* one of Marx's more politically unambiguous texts about Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte's seizure of

power in France, the quote is about a particular sub-class in 19th Century France. The preceding lines make this clear:

> Insofar as there is merely a local interconnection among these small-holding peasants, and the identity of their interests begets no community, no national bond and no political organisation among them, they do not form a class. They are consequently incapable of enforcing their class interests in their own name… (Marx 1999: 254).

This idea of the voicelessness of the other finds resonance in subaltern studies (see 4.1.), but it also speaks to a larger point: that the traditional can be embedded within the modern and vice versa. More significantly, modernity does not simply arrive and erase or displace the existing social structures but rather interacts with them. This suggests, then, that there are no recognizable lines of demarcation between the two concepts. They are part of the same symbolic universe. This idea will be explored via a critique of modernization theory (3.3.3.).

Gandhi's notion of the modern and the universal should be explored against this backdrop. Modern was coterminous with rationalization for European thinkers. Gandhi, however, was highly critical of universal modernity, at least insofar as it was equated with westernization. Being at the receiving end of universalisms no doubt played a decisive role in shaping his perspective, but most interesting here is not that Gandhi was merely critical of modernity as westernization but that he was insistent upon the fact that traditional – when juxtaposed with modern – was not inherently bad. He did not accept the inherent power relationship in the dichotomy, but he also did not merely reject it. Instead, he tried to subvert it by attempting to arrive at his own universalism. That he was not successful and knew that he could not be successful in doing so points to an ideal orientation for the social sciences. The truth he was seeking was immaterial, meaning his orientation was more similar to that of Weber than Marx and Durkheim. This speaks to a different dichotomy, as well, namely the rational versus the spiritual, another false choice.

The traditional is something which should be modernized, something which lacks development. The modern makes claims to universalism of a rational kind but is empty or, even worse, pathological. How can this particular dialectic be sublated? It has already been mentioned that the traditional exists within the modern, just as the modern can exist within the traditional. What is more, the modern can be so convincing as to mask the traditional and vice versa. The hope here is that the critical, historical interrogation of the developments of

secondary schooling in Germany and India after 1945 and 1947, respectively, will aid greatly in the working out of this particular problem. Traditional and modern are not universal, fixed points; the only constants are adaptation and adjustment.

The third relation has to do with the relationship between materialism and what can be called interpretivism. The idea that material conditions are the only important driving forces behind history and society is compelling in its explanatory power. Social or historical changes can be explained away as a result of changes in the mode of production, which as a concept is open enough to incorporate technological changes, changes to the social structure, cultural developments, etc. Insofar as the materialist approach is willing to factor in other contingencies, for example "irrational" religious movements, historical social structures, even psychological and emotional viewpoints, it imagines these seemingly non-material developments as effects of changes in modes of production or accumulation. This analytical approach also allows for compelling interpretations of far-off historical events, including the establishment of religions and ancient conflicts. The problem with this approach in research is not that it is wrong. After all, better minds than that of the present author's have devoted their professional lives to the standpoint.

The problem with the materialist approach is that it is generally well-defined before any kind of research takes place, leading to, at best, confirmation bias and, in the worst cases, willful ignorance of other explanatory factors. Similar to the critique of Millian logic levelled in the methodology section, in which the initial establishment of the first kind of causal relationships leads to a self-fulfilling prophecy of sorts, a dogmatic materialist approach can entail a certain blind spot for cultural explanations (Houtman 2003: 153). That the broader materialist approach is shared by the natural sciences lends it authority in the social sciences. It follows that all phenomena can be deduced from matter to explain everything, up to and including psychology and the movements of celestial bodies. Even the materialist approach in the physical sciences has its boundaries, namely the concept of infinity. In a sense, this point reflects the *Methodenstreit* of the 1860s.The idea here is certainly not to steer the conversation into an unresolvable metaphysical dead end but rather to suggest that even the most rigorous approaches have their own conceptual difficulties.

It could very well be the case that both the materialist and positivist approaches are correct and that everything can be deduced from the measurable, physical world. It is the contention of the author, however, that such a point, because it cannot sufficiently account for

all of the complex layers of meaning in the social world, should be treated with a degree of caution. The interpretivist approach, however, comes with its own shortcomings, namely that it devalues any kind of materialist explanation of society. The inner workings or constructions of the mind take explanatory precedence, which leads to the problem of immeasurability. To measure a belief or conviction, for example, is not really possible, but deducing a belief or conviction from material conditions or exchange is equally inappropriate. This leads to a potent conceptual problem which can be facilely related by the cliché: "What came first, the chicken or the egg?" Put less absurdly, are material conditions predicated on culture, or is culture predicated on material conditions?

An interpretive approach which is broad enough to allow for a materialist and/or functionalist conclusion – but not point of departure – seems to offer the best solution for understanding a social scientific object of inquiry. It follows, then, that Weber's approach as outlined above holds the key for understanding what has shaped and what can shape society. A slight adjustment, however, is necessary in order to operationalize his approach, namely the reorientation of truth away from a well-defined, natural scientific-like law and toward a pluralistic, non-chimeric understanding of the universal. This allows, also, for the inversion of the functionalist and materialist approaches, insofar as they can still provide some explanatory power but are not provided from the outset with a monopoly on that power.

While the parameters of this orientation will be explored in the next subchapter, important at this juncture is the idea that an approach must be developed that does not begin with a well-defined universal but allows for a modicum of maneuvering, with the idea being that in the end some kind of truth can be arrived at, not necessarily in a straight, causal line. Sorting through the layers of meaning, interpreting information in order to learn something new, as opposed to simply *knowing* something new on the basis of a predetermined, rigid structure of thought, should be the goal of a social scientific inquiry. To that end, instead of choosing between materialism and functionalism and interpretivism, for example, one ought to approach an object of inquiry in such a manner as to be open to different kinds of explanations and at the same time critical of causal relations and assumptions.

3.3. Misconnections

This subchapter will attempt to come to terms with some of the consequences of the ideas explored above. First, some notes on important epistemological challenges will be presented, with a suggestion for how the reproduction of inequalities via education can be understood theoretically. Second, the concepts of modernity and its operationalization, modernization theory, will be taken apart and scrutinized in order that some kind of orientation to the good life can be arrived at. Lastly, the assumed universal applicability of liberal/progressive education will be called into question. The flawed epistemological assumptions embedded in modernization theories and liberal/progressive approaches to education disallowed them from becoming universally viable. This realization, however, has come too late.

3.3.1. Notes on Epistemology

The understandings of universalism, relativism, modern, traditional, materialism and interpretivism outlined above are open enough to be placed in a further relation with one another, as long as the relation, too, is open enough to accommodate them. Rehbein (2015), for example, developed the "kaleidoscopic dialectic" in order to wrench open the Eurocentric approach to the social sciences in hopes of preserving its validity in light of the rise of non-European societies. With reference to this dialectic, he argues:

> Only the goal of a better life is known – but not how it looks. The dialectic should not establish causal effects according to prevailing conditions but should rather seek to change those conditions in such a way as to enable a better life (75).

The dialectical tradition, by no means an exclusively European historical phenomenon, has at least since Hegel been thoroughly Europeanized, and thus the theory of knowledge embedded within it shares much in common with that which Rehbein was critiquing, although in fairness he did recognize this impasse himself. The dialectical approach has been employed

with success for understanding the social world but it carries with it a particular danger, namely a certain self-serving logical totality.[19] In order to accommodate the seemingly contradictory concepts outlined above and the ones which will be outlined below, it is necessary to broaden the present theoretical scope once again before narrowing it down. This will be done by means of critiquing the concept of epistemological pluralism as it applies to the social sciences.

The concept, epistemological pluralism, came about as a result of stagnation in interdisciplinary research (Miller et al 2008: 47). In an article titled "Epistemological Pluralism: Reorganizing Interdisciplinary Research", three metaphors for approaches to divergent theories of knowledge are presented as a way of providing labels for the approaches. The first metaphor is that knowledge is mechanistic. Miller et al (2008) describe this approach thusly: "Believed to be objective, replicable. Knowledge acquired via 'the scientific method'; sought to demonstrate causality and allow for prediction" (48). This approach resembles roughly the approach laid out by Durkheim. The second metaphor is that knowledge is contingent and is described as follows: "Importance of agent and context. Knowledge seeks causality; relies on behavior, variability, and relation to socially held norms" (48). This approach roughly resembles the Weberian approach. The third metaphor is that knowledge is narrative and is described in this way: "Interpretive and critical. Knowledge is inherent to object and represents values that may be shared or individually held" (48). This approach, insofar as it attempts to bridge the gaps between theories of knowledge, is valuable, but the reader will note that there is nothing to hold the approach together, no professed goal apart from a vague notion of how knowledge works.

Although epistemological pluralism sounds noble, it does not offer any kind of solution for overcoming epistemological bias. The inherent danger is that the first kind of knowledge – because it seeks to discover logically coherent, universal laws – will view itself and in turn be viewed as the most appropriate approach, if only because it provides the "clearest" orientation for knowledge. This orientation works well for static mathematical

[19] Tony Judt's (2012) second-hand anecdotal criticism of the dialectic – that it is "the art and the technique of always landing on your feet" (88) – in addition to being humorous, draws attention to a fundamental flaw in the dialectical construction, namely that everything can simply be explained away.

formulae but is much less appropriate for approaching layers of complexity and entangledness. The other kinds of knowledge would only be viewed in terms of how serviceable they are to the first kind, universal knowledge. Epistemological pluralism does nothing to invert the epistemological hierarchy.

Rehbein's (2015) kaleidoscopic dialectic is perhaps the most viable tool for overcoming potential epistemological pitfalls, at least insofar as it proposes a common orientation for knowledge, namely a good life (130). It should be noted, however, that this approach does not simply unify the three epistemological starting points but rather organizes them in a kind of hierarchy, with the most open – knowledge as narrative – being more important than knowledge as contingent which, in turn, is more important, or at the very least less problematic, than knowledge as mechanistic. Before moving onto the next subsection, in which modernity and modernization theories will be discussed in greater detail, it is important to place the concepts discussed above into a kind of hierarchical relationship. To begin, more explanatory power will be assigned to what can be referred to as the particular as opposed to the universal with an overall orientation toward non-chimeric universalism.

The particular, of course, makes up part of the social world, and this assertion will serve as a kind of guiding principle. It will be assumed that something like truth can and, in fact, does exist, but the author will not delude himself into thinking that he alone can arrive at it. The modern-traditional dichotomy will be circumvented by the knowledge that the social world is a reflection of the tension between the two and that no society could possibility lay claim to being completely modern, just as no society could claim to be strictly traditional. History matters even if its impact cannot be measured. While the materialist approach to the social sciences will not be eschewed completely, it will be treated with skepticism. Borrowing from Rehbein (2015), the normative orientation of this approach will be a good life, a particularly apt orientation in the context of probing the ways in which inequalities are (re)produced via education in diverse places. This idea of the good life, which will be left undefined, provides a nice transition to the next part of the chapter, namely modernity and modernization theory, a theoretical terrain which has long professed to hold the keys to the good life for every society in the world.

3.3.2. Modernity

Each of the primary thinkers discussed above had their own particular takes on what it meant to be modern. To Weber and Durkheim, modern was coterminous with rationalization, while Marx viewed it as being connected to capitalist commodity production. Gandhi's relationship to the modern was skeptical. The issue of modernity and modernization will be discussed below in hopes of coming to a suitable understanding of the modern. This is of utmost importance for a comparative study, as it will ensure that the objects of inquiry, the German and Indian secondary education systems, will not end up in a kind of power relationship. The significance of this very point will become all too evident. Although the ideas presented here can be traced back to the four thinkers outlined above in the form of a kind of genealogy, this section will rely on thinkers who appeared on the scene subsequent to the "classics", with the possible exception of Gandhi, who came a bit later than Durkheim, Marx and Weber. It is not the ambition of this work to re-categorize the ideas presented below; for the sake of clarity, the author will refer ideas to the broader categories explored above, namely functionalism, interpretivism, materialism and post- or anti-modernism.

To begin, modernity can be defined openly as: "the modes of experiencing that which is new in modern society" (Frisby 1990: 58). Whether the driving force behind modernity is or was rationalization, capitalist enterprise, imperialism or some mixture of the three is not central to explaining the concept. David Harvey (2000), in his article "Time-Space Compression and the Rise of Modernism as a Cultural Force", argues that an important shift in imagining space and time occurred in Europe and North America as a result of the financial crisis of 1847-1848, causing novel philosophical speculation regarding conceptions of space and time. More to the point, the Enlightenment notion of time, which held that time moved forward linearly, had earlier displaced the ecological conception of time adhered to by traditional societies, and was in turn displaced by more confusing notions of time, including what Harvey refers to as the cyclical notion of time related to business cycles and Marx's idea of alternating time (Harvey 2000: 134-135). The new times that emerged became significant components of modernity or, in Harvey's words: "The certainty of absolute space and place gave way to the insecurities of a shifting relative space, in which events in one place could have immediate and ramifying effects in several other places" (135). Harvey sets out to trace the effects of this change in understandings of time on economic, cultural and political life, with a particular focus on the ways in which literature and the fine arts adjusted to this shift

(135-138). Although his insights are most interesting for fans of modern literature and the arts, it is worth considering whether his "critical juncture" – 1847-1848 – is entirely appropriate.

Empirically, it is verifiable that new art forms less concerned with realism and convention emerged subsequent to his critical juncture, but the totalizing force of his analysis, namely that this confused conception of time was universalized and engendered worldwide colonial and imperial expansion (Harvey 2000: 137), is problematic. To add some perspective to this analysis, it is rather more likely that the novel conception of time Harvey investigated was not representative of a new epoch but rather a confounding of the different notions of time, namely traditional time and Enlightenment time. This, together with the founding of nation-states beginning toward the end of the 18th Century, holds the key to understanding the relationships between time, space and the modern.

Benedict Anderson (2003), arguing at the crux of a similar historical intersection, notes that nation-ness:

> …was the spontaneous distillation of a complex 'crossing' of discrete historical forces; but that, once created, they became 'modular,' capable of being transplanted…to a great variety of social terrains, to merge and be merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellations (4).

Anderson was first and foremost interested in the rise of the nation-state ("imagined communities") as a framework for collective life. For him, the rise of print capitalism and the connected technological developments it fostered gave birth to new imaginations of life and time. "The convergence of capitalism and print technology…created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic form set the stage for the modern nation" (46). The novel conception of time that emerged from this was the idea of simultaneous time. A daily or weekly newspaper allowed members of the community to conceptualize what was going on in far off places and even to imagine what other members of the community were doing at that very moment, namely reading the newspaper, too.

Setting these conflicting notions of time together into a relation helps to clarify the relationship between modernity and time and points the analyst in a direction regarding a possible non-chimeric universal framework for discussing it. On the one hand, new

conceptions of time emerged in the mid-18th Century which challenged the Enlightenment notion of progressive time, referred to as a "crisis of representation" (Harvey 2000: 134). On the other hand, modernity can be viewed as an intersection of capitalism, print technology and the construction of nation-states. "All of the above" is perhaps the only answer in this case if one wants to understand modernity, meaning that the manifestation of the modern is not simply a shedding of one notion of time and the adoption of a new one. Instead, the notions of ecological time, Enlightenment time, cyclical time, alternating time and any other extant time concepts are mixed together to various degrees and then confronted with the notion of simultaneity. Each society, each individual even, carries with it its own mixture of different understandings of time. Instead of speaking of modernity in the singular, it is necessary to speak of multiple modernities.

The idea of multiple modernities is not new, but it contains an approach which is illuminating for any comparative study. Sudipta Kaviraj (2002) recognizes the contribution of the classical approach to modernity yet enumerates the reasons why: "we should expect modernity not to be homogeneous, not to result in the same kind of social process and reconstitution of institutions in all historical and cultural contexts" (137-138). The first reason provided is that "modernity is a massive alteration of social practices…" most particularly in the fields of "…political power (state), economic production, education, science, even religion" (138). Again, this notion is hardly ground-breaking, but it is useful to keep in mind the idea that modernity has primary spheres of influence and should not simply be deduced from material relations.

At this point, and in line with Harvey (2000), the notion of culture should be added to Kaviraj's short list. The second reason why modernity cannot be homogeneous and thus must be understood in terms of a plurality is that modernity is a necessarily open and multiple process and interacts differently within different historical processes (Kaviraj 2002: 139). To put it more succinctly, modernity as a program has different effects on different places, times and ways of experiencing the world, a point similar in nature to the one made by the author about different kinds of time. The final reason is that modernity breeds reflexivity, and that new means of arriving at effective forms of collective action are constantly being sought and implemented as part of modernity's program (Kaviraj 2002: 140).

Modernity, understood as rationalization or as capitalism writ large, has very little explanatory power in and of itself; rather, it is the intersection of these "modern" concepts

with larger social, cultural, economic and historical processes that define modernity. It follows, then, that modernity cannot logically be a destination but can only serve as an ingredient in understanding the social world. Kaviraj (2002) concludes his discussion with a very revealing question: "…the logic of modernity shows a diversifying and pluralizing tendency in Europe itself. How can its extension to different cultures and historical circumstances produce obediently uniform historical results?" (160).

More to the point, and providing a tidy transition to the objects of inquiry, is S.N. Eisenstadt's (2002) own conclusion regarding the challenges of examining multiple modernities: "The idea of multiple modernities presumes that the best way to understand the contemporary world – indeed to explain the history of modernity – is to see it as a story of continual constitution and reconstruction of a multiplicity of cultural programs" (2). These myriad cultural programs, however, have manifested themselves in diverse organizational and institutional patterns, governing a wide range of activities, including mass education and "individualistic orientations" (2).[20]

Even it if could be established that the relative power of nation-states has been eroded, it must be recognized that methodological nationalism, while problematic, is appropriate for the present discussion. According to Véronique Bénéï (2005): "Yet the fact that the state may appear in some domains to no longer be a relevant entity…should not obfuscate its still inescapable role in a variety of realms impacting on the lives of its citizens" (7). It is entirely unavoidable to focus on states when discussing education systems, because education is still a public good and the regulation of this good falls to the states, even when it comes to private education. What is more, discussing modernity or multiple modernities without focusing on the state would be an exercise in futility, because the rise of the modern is intimately linked with the rise of the nation-state.[21]

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[20] Before discussing the point, it is necessary at this juncture to remark on a somewhat troubling and related concept, namely methodological nationalism, which is designated as: "the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world" (Wimmer and Schiller 2002: 302). This approach, although it refers specifically to migration research, is tangentially related to Michael Mann's thesis that globalization is eroding the power of the nation-state (Mann 1997).

[21] This does not mean, however, that the rise of the post-modern is intimately tied to the demise of the nation-state.

Taken together, this means that modernity includes divergent understandings of time, which are emblematic of larger epistemological changes, yet are manifested in diverse institutional structures, most of which lead back to the nation-state, the organizational form in which modernity is both embedded and expressed. It seems all too appropriate to not speak of modernity in the singular, for no single nation-state can be said to have perfectly reflected the modern in any stage of its history. It would be nice to simply wish away or ignore the pathologies of the nation-state. As it stands, they must be interrogated. Now that modernity has been sufficiently defined or at least signposted, the critical gaze can be turned toward its operationalization, namely modernization or development theory.

3.3.3. Modernization

Modernity in all of its complexity has been, at various points in history, packaged together and sold as a solution to social problems, most specifically with regards to post-colonial states. The approach to modernization – or development – has been for the most part predicated on two rough ideas: economic reform and political reform. The most recent iteration of the modernization program is the so-called Washington Consensus, although one admittedly notices scant mention of this concept in the literature of the past half-decade. The three pillars of the Washington Consensus are generally understood to be privatization, liberalization and deregulation, and these three pillars have been championed to varying degrees of success by the Bretton Woods institutions, namely the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Structural adjustment programs in the form of loans and their enforced repayment provide the carrot and the stick of Gramscian hegemony. The point of the present discussion is certainly not to provide another critique of the neo-liberal paradigm; rather, it provides an opening for exploring a key concept, modernization, through the lens of liberalism.

First, however, it is important to expose the idea of modernization to a mechanical or practical critique of sorts. E.A. Brett (2009) contends, “Dramatic changes are occurring in DCs [developed countries] and LDCs [least developed countries] that cannot be properly understood, even in the former, by using orthodox theories that explain how societies maintain existing systems rather than manage fundamental change” (3). This speaks to some

larger theoretical issues, namely the wrongheadedness of assuming that a phenomenon can be understood with reference to an old, possibly universal theory which is ill-equipped to address it. Brett, in discussing the ideas underlying development, adds:

> …no two countries are likely to use the same combination of political, economic and social institutions to manage their transitions to modernity, but none can ignore the influence of the principles of freedom, equality, scientific objectivity and cooperative interdependence that originated in the western enlightenment project (3).

These ideals are well and good and are worth believing in, but the interaction of these ideals with the social world must be interrogated, lest they become meaningless.

Rehbein and Souza (2014), for example, refer to this embedded liberalism as symbolic liberalism (35) and argue that the de facto reference to liberal ideals, oftentimes written into the constitutions of countries, is not entirely genuine and even worse, works to obscure the ways in which social inequality functions and is reproduced. While this is certainly a compelling argument, it does not really speak to any fatal flaws in the liberal program itself but rather to its imperfect applicability. To suggest that a country with a liberal (Lockean) constitution must be perfectly liberal would be an error. If one were to measure social justice on the basis of the liberalness of a constitution, the United States, India and South Africa, for example, would be the most egalitarian, just societies in the world. That this is not the case provides an opening for arguments like those introduced by Rehbein and Souza.

The communitarianism versus liberalism debate can be left unaddressed. For the present purposes, however, it is necessary to explore the idea that symbolic liberalism has veiled attempts to understand and explain the social mechanisms which work to reproduce inequality. That liberalism is equated with representative democracy and the construction of political constitutions – or "laws of the lands" – can be taken as a fact. From there, however, it gets a bit foggy, because laws bestowing rights to individuals are not always – or even only seldom – delivered to those individuals. Communal and social mechanisms, mechanisms which happen outside of the realm of questions of legality and rights, prevent their transmission, which is why the most flowering constitutions do not offer citizens much in terms of being able to, again borrowing from Sen (2003), turn capabilities into functionings. This disjuncture between "liberal" laws and "illiberal" societies or communities, and liberal

emphases in the social sciences, effectively obscures ideas like social ascription.[22] Symbolic liberalism, the idea that liberalism is a chimera which obscures critical social issues, will be on full display during the comparison between the German and Indian education systems, namely as it relates to their respective postwar and post-independence constitutions.

Within academia itself, this symbolic liberalism also plays an outsized role in shaping discourse. Wallerstein (1999), for example, argues that the division of the social sciences into "disciplines" (economics, political science and sociology) represents a schematic model which reflects the liberal dogma and that these three disciplines should rather be treated as one because they are not autonomous (123). While this idea certainly is not new, it contains an important critique of the social sciences and reveals significant blind spots. Wallerstein furthers his critique that institutions which have an impact on the social world are approached as: "being economic, political, and sociocultural…but such designations are in fact inaccurate, since all the institutions act in ways that are simultaneously political, economic, and sociocultural, and could not be effective if they did not" (124). Liberalism divides the study of the social world into disciplines, and important ways of seeing the social (or political or economic) world are lost between the areas of demarcation. This simultaneity of disciplinary relevance requires, however, one important and enormous addition: history.

The expectation that liberalism or its ideological bedfellow, modernization, can offer a suitable, easily adaptable and universal social and political program is easy to rebuke as mere fantasy. Tamer Söyler (2015), for example, uses Ikea instruction manuals/graphics as a metaphor for the pitfalls of modernization programs. To paraphrase, Ikea operates in scores of nations, each one with its own particular culture, language and even spatial and mechanical understanding, and seeks to ensure that the same bookshelf, ideally, can be put together by individual consumers across the world with very few problems. The instructions, of course,

[22] Alexis de Tocqueville (1998), whose *Democracy in America* still represents one of the most insightful, wide-ranging social scientific works ever produced, observed the following about democratic communities: "for equality their passion is ardent, insatiable, incessant, invincible; they call for equality in freedom; and if they cannot obtain that, they still call for equality in slavery. They will endure poverty, servitude, barbarism, but they will not endure aristocracy" (204). Published in two volumes (in 1835 and 1840, respectively), Tocqueville was attempting to understand how democracy functioned in the United States. If his observations had only been true, that democracy is coterminous with equality, the crisis of dramatically increasing economic, social and cultural inequality would not be an issue.

are loaded with cultural assumptions about how things fit together, and they appear to be the same, meaning they appear to be universal.

This does not mean, however, that the same bookshelves will be assembled at the same speed and with the same ease; rather, things can become more complicated based on: the relation of the translation to the original; the relation of the assembler to the words and diagrams; and the relation of the words and diagrams to the respective symbolic universe, among other things. While the input is universal – the manuals are standardized – and the output is assumed to be universal, the end result cannot be guaranteed (Söyler 2015: 66-67). Modernization and development programs have unfolded in a similar manner. The input is assumed to be universal, and the embedded expectation is that the output, too, will be universal. The relational assumptions in between, however, preclude the results from being in line with initial expectations. If such is the case for something as simple and banal as furniture, how can it not be the case for societies and their education systems, which house myriad relations and their complications?

3.3.4. Liberalism/Progressivism and Education

A further iteration of the modernization program, namely the progressive movement in the United States at the turn of the 20th Century, sought to identify the tensions between labor and capital, black and white, etc., and transform them in line with liberal principles, principles which in the end had as their point of reference modernity in the singular and, connectedly, the division of labor in society. While the many faces of liberalism will not be treated here, the presentation of two contrasting iterations and their views about education will work to highlight conceptual shortcomings. Even the most ardent supporters of reform along egalitarian lines would be disappointed by the imperfect applicability of the liberal educational program. Belief in democracy and the fear of totalitarianism, respectively, as guiding principles are not strong enough to prevent the reproduction of inequalities through education.

John Dewey (2008), who was discussed briefly in the literature review, was a pedagogue, philosopher and political activist who worked to reshape public institutions in the

United States by attempting to make them more equal. While it would be illuminating to discuss the trials and tribulations of the progressive movement in the United States, it will suffice for the present purposes to talk about Dewey's ideas in context. Equally enticing would be a critique of philosophical pragmatism, a sets of ideas which have again become fashionable in academia, but this would do little to serve the present purposes. For Dewey, the idea of democracy was of utmost importance, and for democracy to function in the present and to continue functioning into the future, the concepts of education and democracy needed to be combined rationally and humanistically, with the desired end of creating a just society. The conceptual link between liberal or progressive education and democracy is formulated thusly:

> It is no accident that all democracies have put a high estimate upon education; that schooling has been their first care and enduring charge. Only through education can equality of opportunity be more than a phrase. Accidental inequalities of birth, wealth, and learning are always tending to restrict the opportunities of some as compared with those of others. Only free and continued education can counteract those forces which are always at work to restore, in however changed a form, feudal oligarchy. Democracy has to be born anew every generation, and education is its midwife (Dewey 2008: 137-138).

The first sentence in this quotation is dubious at best and can be summed up with two words: wishful thinking. That democracy pays lip service to education is all too straightforward, but even more striking is the conceptual disconnect between democracy and educational policy, a theme roughly covered by Dewey's second sentence. The fear of democracy and society being overtaken by feudal oligarchy is particularly interesting, especially in light of growing income inequalities across the world. The last sentence, that education serves a kind of midwife role, is of particular importance for the present purposes. This becomes even more interesting when compared to the Marxian midwife, violence. If (liberal) democracy is in fact the best vehicle for overcoming "accidental inequalities", and an egalitarian approach to education is the best way to ensure the lifeblood of democracy, then one would expect to see some correlation between democratic health and efficiency and educational innovation and mobility. That the United States, long amongst the paragons of democracy and with a primary and secondary education system that is at least nominally based on egalitarianism, has and has long had striking levels of inequality related to race,

class, gender and ethnicity speaks to a disconnect between the liberal idea of a democratic society and liberal or even progressive education. It is precisely within this context that Rehbein and Souza (2014) discussed symbolic liberalism.[23] This is a problem for which Dewey seemingly had no answer.

Dewey was not alone in thinking that liberal democracy and progressive education held the keys to a better world, but his orientation ought to be exposed to a kind of critique. Like Durkheim and Marx, Dewey's (2015) approach assumed that the current society was the best possible iteration of society, simply meaning that his optimism found its orientation in the future development of the present society. "We cannot set up, out of our heads, something we regard as an ideal society. We must base our conceptions upon societies which actually exist, in order to have any assurance that our ideal is a practicable one" (Chapter 7). Part and parcel of his approach was to pick and choose desirable qualities of the current order while discarding less desirable ones. It bears mentioning that he was most prolific on the heels of the so-called Gilded Age in the United States, a particularly rosy and unreflective time in the country's history.

Seen through the lens of the growth in wages, the "maturing" of industry and a break in international conflict, it probably seemed all too natural to view pathological social dimensions as being separable from social virtues. The relationship between economic growth and social divisions stemming from race, gender and class, was highly visible, as evidenced by the fact that Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* and W.E.B. Du Bois' *The Souls of Black Folk* appeared in 1906 and 1903, respectively, drawing mass attention to questions of class and race. Dewey saw in education the ability to hold onto the good parts of liberal democracy while, through social evolution driven by progressive ideas, discarding the bad parts. Education was to play a defining role in achieving a level of social equality which

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[23] Interestingly enough, Niklas Luhmann (2001) came to a similar conclusion, although from a different perspective: "society has to reflect on its relationship to the individual, though not by means of property but by means of the state. What emerges from this is that society demands of itself that greater equality and greater freedom be achieved, even though this idea is unable to explain its own lack of impact" (24).

would redeem the flowering prose of the country's founding documents, most notably the *Declaration of Independence* and the *Bill of Rights*. Dewey was perhaps wise for presenting the alternative to democracy as "feudal oligarchy", because given the choice, one would be hard pressed not to select democracy. This is to say that Dewey's ideas cannot and should not be unreflectingly spread to the corners of the world.

In the context of a *this or that* choice, others have come to similar conclusions. Although it would be folly to suggest that Dewey and Hannah Arendt were cut from the same ideological cloth, comparing their liberalisms and ideas about education is highly instructive.[24] Arendt's (1976) approach to the *this or that* choice did not have "feudal oligarchy" as the worst choice but, broadly speaking, totalitarianism. While she did not define liberal democracy as the practicable alternative per se, it becomes apparent that this is what she approximately saw as the alternative. The context of her writing, namely the postwar Western world, was framed by two modern, totalitarian snapshots, namely the Third Reich and Stalin's Soviet Union. To say she was more skeptical of modernity than was Dewey would be a massive understatement. In any event, at first glance it appears her approach to education is highly conservative, at least when compared to Dewey's approach.

While Dewey viewed education as playing a vital role in shaping liberal democracy in hopes that the benefits of the system would be recognized (via education) and that the evolution of the system would result in a just system, Arendt (1954) highlighted the importance of tradition and authority in education. With regard to the role of educators, she argued that they: "stand in relation to the young as representatives of a world for which they must assume responsibility although they themselves did not make it, and even though they may, secretly or openly, wish it were other than it is" (9-10). This importance of looking back stands in sharp contrast to Dewey's focus on looking to the future, which in all fairness is probably more symptomatic of the experiences each thinker had. The contrasts in outlooks regarding the Gilded Age in the United States and the postwar European/Jewish experience are obviously huge. Arendt highlighted some general problems with the educational approach

[24] In certain respects, Arendt's approach defies categorization, and her work has been linked to classical liberalism, liberal republicanism (Lloyd 1995: 31) and even neo-conservatism (Judt 2009: 85).

of her time: “The problem of education…lies in the fact that by its very nature it cannot forgo either authority or tradition, and yet must proceed in a world that is neither structured by authority nor held together by tradition” (13). Authority and tradition, then, become necessary evils which cannot simply be dispensed with.

Arendt’s (1954) solution to the problem, however, can be seen as radically illiberal. She posits:

> We must decisively divorce the realm of education from the others, most of all from the realm of public, political life, in order to apply to it alone a concept of authority and an attitude toward the past which are appropriate to it but have no general validity and must not claim a general validity in the world of grown-ups (13).

Dewey saw education as being of utmost importance for democracy; Arendt, on the other hand, posited that education, far from being a foundational part of a liberal society, should be separated entirely from public and political life, ostensibly to protect education from succumbing to totalitarian political currents.

More to the point, Dewey and Arendt shared similar outlooks when it comes to the basic orientations of education. Arendt (1954), for example, wrote:

> And education, too, is where we decide whether we love our children enough not to expel them from our world and leave them to their own devices, nor to strike from their hands their chance of undertaking something new, something unforeseen by us, but to prepare them in advance for the task of renewing a common world (13-14).

The orientation of this renewal is, roughly speaking, away from totalitarian violence and toward a kind of common humanity. Dewey (2015) took his argument even further and provided a minimal point of orientation: “Each generation is inclined to educate its young so as to get along in the present world instead of with a view to the proper end of education: the promotion of the best possible realization of humanity as humanity” (Dewey 2015: Chapter 7). Combining these two quasi-liberal ideas, a clause can be developed which will provide a conceptual link between these ideas and the ideas to follow. Education plays the role of reinvigorating a common world, and this is only desirable as long as the common world has humanity – skeletally defined – as that entity which it serves. The belief that the system as it

is or was constructed holds the promise of a better life is the least common denominator between two different sides of the liberal spectrum, namely Arendt and Dewey. The blind spots inherent to these brands of liberalism preclude them from being viable solutions to the problem of the reproduction of educational inequality. In other words, India's and Germany's educational situations would not improve by becoming more liberal. The link between Dewey's liberalism and Rehbein's critical theory – humanity as humanity and the good life – is an important one, although humanity in Dewey's rendering was a loaded concept.

Now that modernity has been defined as a concept, analyzed in terms of its implementation across social worlds and discussed with specific reference to liberalism and education, the theoretical focus can migrate to the various post-isms which have been used to explain and to forecast the social world. It is the author's expressed hope that the various juxtapositions presented above lead not to the kind of clarity that can be summed up in the course of a single sentence but rather the kind that emerges via interrogation. By themselves, the ideas presented so far portray a rather fuzzy picture; together with the actual comparison between the changes in the education systems of Germany and India, however, the reasons underlying theoretical decisions made in the course of this work will hopefully become evident.

Again, the present author is not entirely comfortable subsuming social thoughts under categories. Labelling a given approach can be useful in terms of allowing for categorical thinking, but the ideas themselves are much more illuminating than the labels. In much the same way that Marx did not consider himself a Marxist (Anyon 2011: 7), it is unlikely that any given thinker would accede to having her or his ideas confined to a demarcated school of thought. This is, of course, precisely how things unfold: an idea is assigned to a given school of thought (with a neo- or even post- attached to it), jargon for the school of thought is created or re-created, acceptable theories which fully incorporate the jargon are published, and then seemingly new ideas are subsumed under the category which has been established as a label for the nascent or even mature school of thought. Wash, rinse and repeat. This idea is especially relevant in the context of post-modern theories.

The theoretical and historical link between social thought and education is rife with problems. This subsection and the previous ones, 3.3.1. - 3.3.3., have revealed fundamental problems concerning how the social world and education can be imagined, giving rise to the topic of Chapter 4. There is no way that Durkheim, Weber, Marx or Gandhi could have been

able to preempt such issues in their musings on the links between society and education. Adhering to a functionalist and/or rational approach to education and designing school systems to react to the perceived needs of the division of labor, however, leads to the exacerbation of inequality through processes which will be outlined in Chapter 4. The German and Indian approaches to the link between secondary education and society are aligned with ideas which, however brilliant and insightful, have lost much of their validity, as evinced by the critiques embedded above. These ideas, however, still form the wobbly foundations upon which the German and Indian education systems stand. To borrow a term from engineering, the structural integrity of the systems has become suspect.

3.4. Conclusion

Durkheim, Marx and Weber sought to arrive at universal laws about how society and history function. The guiding principles behind their attempts were the division of labor in society and/or rationalization. Their ideas about the relationship between society and education reflect these seemingly universal guiding principles. Gandhi was tackling problems of a different kind. In contrast to the other three thinkers, his educational notions were not connected to a larger defining logic, an open-ended orientation to knowledge. The discussion about modernity and modernization attempts to find a middle ground of sorts between Durkheim, Weber, Marx and Gandhi by suggesting that there are indeed multiple notions of the modern and that there is a seemingly unbridgeable tension between the universal and the relative. These tensions will be explored in Chapter 4. The discussion surrounding liberalism/progressivism is an attempt to show that orientations toward more benign concepts such as democracy and anti-totalitarianism cannot in and of themselves prevent the reproduction of social inequalities through education.

Chapter 3 represents merely the first theoretical step. In order for secondary education systems in Germany and India to free themselves of conservatism and to promote emancipatory social change, due attention must be given to critical theory in general and the kaleidoscopic dialectic in particular so that the pacifying effects of liberal rhetoric can be transcended.

4. THE CRITICAL TURN AND EDUCATION

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...yet they propagate and naturalize social inequalities. This reflects a broad crisis of imagination.

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If modernization is associated with liberalism, and it appears the literature backs up this classification, then it can be said that post-isms are associated with either Marxian approaches of some kind or relativism.[25] The appeal to, and in turn reliance on, objective class identities (i.e. bourgeois and proletarian) is a common point of departure, although there is some variation in this. Strikingly, one recognizes prima facie only specious family resemblances between Gandhi, who has been categorized as anti- or post-modern, and the bulk of post-modern thinkers. If anything, their respective objects of inquiry – the colonized, the oppressed, the other – were similar. Connections to the materialist tradition should be more straightforward. Drawing out additional family resemblances between post-modernism, anti-modernism, interpretivism and functionalism will illuminate the contested lines of demarcation artificially drawn between each approach. These family resemblance, however, are merely perfunctory.

[25] The paragraphs about Marx's ideas above are incomplete, for writing a complete section on Marx would require volumes, but the reader will likely be able to identify at least skeletal family resemblances between his ideas and the thinkers to follow.

The nuanced and critical ideas discussed below can be applied with a few adjustments to the analysis of German and Indian secondary schooling and reforms since 1945 and 1947, respectively. Instead of orienting themselves toward a Marxian, Durkheimian or Weberian universalism, they need to be adjusted so as to have as their goal a non-chimeric universalism, namely an open-ended notion of a good life. Schools should be in a position to turn all pupils into philosophers (in the most general, non-academic sense) capable of determining what that means absent concerns of oppression, rationality or function within the narrow confines of a division of labor.

This chapter will unfold as follows: first, post-colonial studies (4.1.), yet another undesirable yet useful umbrella term, will be analyzed in terms of the different approaches to the problems of education, reproduction and inequality; second, Eurocentric critical theories (4.2.) will be scrutinized in the hope that they can be cautiously extended to objects of inquiry outside of their traditional purviews; third, important notes will be made on the intersection of critical theory and history (4.3.); fourth, further ideas about the intersections of theory, history, society and education will be outlined (4.4.); fifth, an appropriate theory for aptly treating historical developments in the German and Indian approaches to secondary education will be narrowed in on (4.5). The next-to-last subsection will attempt to sufficiently connect these ideas in a critique of political economy (4.6). This will be followed by a brief conclusion (4.7.).

4.1. Post-Colonialism and Education

Having already discussed Gandhi's criticisms of modernity and his basic approach to schooling, as well as Said's critique of the power relations inherent in depictions of the "other", it is now necessary to shift focus to the ways in which post-colonial social issues – not least of which is education – have been imagined. The first name that pops into a scholar's head when discussing post-colonialism and education is probably Paulo Freire, and for good reason. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, he (2014) lays out a set of arguments detailing the ways in which the oppressed remain just that through education. To sum up the ideas briefly, the dominant parts of society actively employ education as a tool for keeping

the oppressed down in order that they can be exploited in a colonial or industrial setting.[26] The oppressed can be described as those whom are subjected to underdevelopment.

What is more, the logic behind capitalism all but requires formal mechanisms which allow for oppression and, in turn, for the flow of capital to have as its destinations the metropoles of the Global North. Education serves just this function by regarding the oppressed as: "…the pathology of the healthy society, which must therefore adjust these 'incompetent and lazy' folk to its own patterns by changing their mentality" (Freire 2014: 74). This is not too far removed from the idea of organic solidarity, at least in its relation to the idea of socialization. Durkheim, of course, would argue that socialization via education is a net positive as long as it contributes to the social whole; Freire, on the other hand, is quite clearly arguing that this socialization process is linked to a pathological system which, while creating the appearance of solidarity, is premised first and foremost on the propagation of oppressive relations and is therefore toxic.

Freire's solution is a humanistic, revolutionary approach to education whereby the traditional line of authority between teacher and pupil is eroded. He argues, "The solution is not to 'integrate' [the oppressed] into the structure of oppression, but to transform that structure so that they can become 'beings for themselves' [as opposed to 'beings for others']" (Freire 2014: 74). Interesting here is a comparison to the worst alternatives to liberal democracy as envisioned by Dewey and Arendt. While the bogeymen for those two were feudal oligarchy and totalitarianism, respectively, for Freire the principal problem was the capitalist system itself, its contradictions and its reproduction of oppression through a particular approach to education, namely the treatment of the pupil as an empty vessel needing to be filled by an authority figure. The humanistic and revolutionary teacher would nurture critical thinking so as to allow pupils to: "perceive through their relations with reality that reality is really a *process*, undergoing constant transformation" (Freire 2014: 75, emphasis in original). In order to not fall down the slippery slope of rehashing well-worn

[26] This links up nicely with Andre Gunder Frank's (2009) study of capitalism in Latin America, in which he posits that underdevelopment is linked to capitalist development and its own internal contradictions and that this underdevelopment is not a stage of development but is rather a pathology of the capitalist system; therefore, with regards to Chile, he argues: "Structural underdevelopment will continue to be generated and deepened in Chile until the Chileans liberate themselves from capitalism itself" (Frank 2009: 3).

clichés (i.e. "pupils need to be taught how to think, not what to think"; "knowledge is power"; etc.), this notion needs to be understood in the larger context.

With that, it is important to note that Freire's contribution to the field of pedagogy has been immense, and this helps to explain the ramped up focus on "critical thinking" in schools and universities. Be that as it may, the structural problems to which he alluded have not been addressed with the same degree of success. This is likely connected to the fact that, like Marx, his understanding of social structure was not broad enough to allow for the interrogation of particularities as particularities and not merely as symptoms of a universalism. While Freire did recognize the logic of oppression – namely "divide and rule" (Freire 2014: 141-142) – the dividing line between the oppressors and the oppressed is entirely unclear. For example, he argues: "To the extent, however, that the elites oppress, they cannot be *with* the oppressed; for being *against* them is the essence of oppression" (146, emphases in original), a tautology if there ever was once. He further rehashes the point by arguing: "In order to divide and confuse the people, the destroyers call themselves builders, and accuse the true builders of being destructive" (146). Complex layers of human relations cannot be deduced from a binary logic. One can be "elite" and still share qualities with the oppressed, just as the oppressed can also be oppressors, a point which becomes even more viable when one considers dimensions of race, gender, ethnicity, etc. What is more, Freire's insistence on using psychoanalysis to come to terms with the relations between the oppressed and the oppressors (146) stretches the imagination, at least insofar as psychoanalysis itself is predicated on a kind of highbrow manipulation.[27]

[27] All of that being said, Freire's understanding of the transformative power of education is much more appealing than, for example, Frantz Fanon's (2004) idea that only violence can be transformative, can lend a voice to the oppressed, and can overturn the old colonial order in a post-colonial society (6). This idea, pounded into the ground to an obscene extent by Sartre (among others), presupposes a cynical idea of authenticity. Violence can only be the midwife of more violence; at least a critical pedagogy, an approach that provides a link between humanism and revolution, leaves open the possibility of the good life. The chimera of freedom from the shackles of the past through violence in the present is a dangerous one. Fanon's and Sartre's ideas carried currency during the euphoric period of decolonization, but they have little enduring value. There are many ways an actor can shape the world, but the goal here is to orient action – or at least outcomes – to the good life.

That social actors can shape the social world through critical processes of understanding is an important and highly appealing idea, an idea which Söyler (2015) referred to as the nurturing of "moments of epistemological understanding" (140). Central to this idea is that the social world cannot be broken down into two or three "objective" categories, something which Gandhi, for example, understood well, as evidenced by his concern for the English working classes (Huerta 2009: 47). Binary concepts such as oppressed-oppressor, colonized-colonizer, good-bad, bourgeois-proletarian, etc., do little to aid understanding and, what is more, share a certain family resemblance with symbolic liberalism, at least insofar as binary concepts work to obscure the machinations of how society reproduces itself. To state simply that the oppressors remain oppressors through education or credentialism, while perhaps true, does not explain how this process takes place and how, short of revolution, it can be altered.

Subaltern studies, which seems to represent some kind of middle ground between social constructivism and neo-Marxism (or better yet, objectivism and subjectivism), is of interest to the extent that it endeavors to unveil social processes without simply deducing everything from some sophisticated notion of "false consciousness". The idea that the subaltern is deprived of a voice by the dominant society is one that has been transferred from the post-colonial, South Asian context to the Global North (for example, Rodriguez and Steyerl 2012). While the approach ostensibly relies on binary categories, the focus on the ability of the subaltern – as opposed to the elites – to shape the social world allows for a more nuanced understanding of action within structure. The voicelessness of the subaltern has its roots in colonial projects. Partha Chatterjee (2000) points out that while "the institutionalization of a modern regime of power" was associated with the annihilation of the peasantry, an idea explored in brief above: "In agrarian societies of the colonial East, peasants of course became the repositories of all of those cultural presuppositions that allegedly made those societies incapable of modern self-government and hence justified the paternal authoritarianism of Western colonial rule" (8-9). This colonial relationship persisted after the formal fall of colonialism and has been allowed to persist, namely through modern strategies of power. Education plays a role in this, as well.

The solution, roughly speaking, is to provide the voiceless with a voice, a task for which education has some redeeming potential. This assumes, of course, that the conditions of voicelessness can be comprehended. Spivak (2012), for example, sees some hope in an

"aesthetic" education: "We must learn to do violence to epistemo-epistemological difference and remember that this is what education 'is', and thus keep up the work of displacing belief onto the terrain of the imagination, attempt to access the epistemic" (10). In a sense, this is similar to what Freire was writing about with regards to changing the structure as opposed to further integrating the oppressed into an oppressive structure. While Freire called for the development of a new pedagogy and the abandonment of the old, Spivak's suggestions represent tweaks to the extant pedagogy. She argues:

> If by teaching ourselves and our students to acknowledge our part and hope in capitalism we can bring that hope to a persistent and principled crisis, we can set ourselves on the way to intervening in an unfinished chapter of history which was mired in Eurocentric national disputes. False hope (143).

By this logic, capitalism is merely an extension of colonialism, and while the exclusions and lines of demarcation are murkier, critical education can lift the veil and expose the pathologies of the system. Teaching pupils to place hope in the system will result in a kind of existential disappointment, and this disappointment can serve as a profound, even transformative learning experience.

The criticism that post-colonial studies rely on a static, dualistic conception of power requires a further explanation of what power is and how it functions. This is where critical theory can be of great help. This will allow for a deeper understanding of the mechanisms which reproduce social inequalities through education in Germany and India.

4.2. Critical Theoretical Approaches

This subsection represents an attempt to outline important critical-theoretical contributions related to the notion of power. The broad contours of critical theory and how it relates to society will be introduced first (4.2.1.). Subsequent to that, these concepts will be related to the topics of education, inequality and reproduction (4.2.2.). If post-colonialism is related to disenchantment with the system from without, critical theory can be understood as disenchantment with the system from within. Critical theory's potential contribution to post-colonial theories lies in its nuanced understanding of power. The relationship between these

perspectives and their notions of power (or violence) with regards to the ideas outlined in Chapter 3 form the core of the analysis. Put differently, how can critiques from the outside and the inside be combined? What is the common terrain of struggle?

4.2.1. Critical Theory

Critical Theory, often connected with the Frankfurt School's approach to imperfect societies constructed upon imperfect thought-systems, shares a great deal of family resemblances with post-colonial theory, not least of which is the genealogical connection to Marxian thought but also in terms of Gandhi's skepticism of the virtues of Western civilization's Enlightenment program. Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer's (1997) *Dialectic of Enlightenment* attempts to reconstruct the ways in which the Enlightenment ran off the proverbial tracks. The core of the critique is reflected in these lines: "For the Enlightenment, whatever does not conform to the rule of computation and utility is suspect" (6); and: "In advance, the Enlightenment recognizes as being and occurrence only what can be apprehended in unity: its ideal is the system from which all and everything follows" (7). This, however, is not merely a critique of the prevailing philosophy of science – that it is amoral at best and immoral at worst – but a civilizational critique which helps to explain how Enlightenment civilization could destroy itself, namely by annihilating the individual. "The unity of the manipulated collective consists in the negation of each individual: for individuality makes a mockery of the kind of society which would turn all individuals to the one collectivity" (13).

A "rational" approach to population management, one step in governmental rationalization or governmentality (see below), has had the effect of obliterating the importance of the individual by regarding her or him as inconsequential. "Abstraction, the tool of enlightenment, treats its objects as did fate, the notion of which it rejects: it liquidates them" (Adorno and Horkheimer 1997: 13). The dialectic lies in the notion that the Enlightenment, which birthed both liberalism and scientific abstraction, could not reconcile the particular-universal dichotomy, thus abandoning the individual for progress. To suggest that the Enlightenment resulted in the recognition of the individual as such would be to leave the other half of the story – the literal *and* figurative destruction of the individual – untold. This is to suggest that Rehbein and Souza's (2014) symbolic liberalism is probably not strong

enough of a moniker. “Deceptive liberalism” would perhaps better reflect the problem. Better yet, to borrow from the recent political discourse in the United States, “liberalism in name only” would be an apt alternative. What is the solution to the problem introduced by Adorno and Horkheimer?

Post-colonial and critical theoretical approaches make little sense without a more nuanced understanding of power, a slippery idea which is all too often employed with an implied understanding of the term. The problem alluded to above, a problem inherent in many theoretical approaches, is that a binary logic of power is assumed. That power from above is problematic is all too clear; that the lines of argumentation suggest that power from below is the answer is also apparent. These approaches, however, obscure the ways in which power functions. In creating a link between governmental rationality and the dispersion of power, Michel Foucault (1991) argues:

> Government is the right disposition of things . . . The things with which in this sense government is to be concerned are in fact men, but men in their relations, their links, their imbrication with those other things which are wealth, resources, means of subsistence, the territory with its specific qualities, climate, irrigation, fertility, etc.; men in relation to that other kind of things, customs, habits, ways of acting and thinking, etc. … (93).

Peculiar to this notion of the art of governance, and something which differentiated it from monarchical absolutism, is that political and normative power – the practice of what Foucault referred to as “the conduct of conduct” (92) – was and is dispersed horizontally across society.

Foucault employs Jeremy Bentham’s “Panopticon” as a metaphor for how norms are reinforced in a given society. The idea, in admittedly rough terms, is that individual conduct is controlled and patrolled by other individuals. This postmodern logic of power, although unprovable empirically, has become a scholarly fascination of sorts and has been extended to objects of inquiry across the social scientific spectrum. Although it has universal appeal in that it describes the machinations behind modern political power, it is something that must be worked through, not with the hope that it can become some kind of universal law but with the idea that it can illuminate a given problem. In this case, the implication that the oppressor can simultaneously be the oppressed and vice versa speaks to the importance of non-material –

i.e. symbolic – power relations and, relatedly, casts doubt on the viability of objective binary categories. Understanding the link between socialization, the functionalist conception of education, and "the conduct of conduct" is an important step in unveiling novel explanations of how inequalities are reproduced via education.

Before moving on, it is necessary to provide a critique of the ways in which Foucault's ideas have been adopted and turned around. Foucault was skeptical of what can be referred to as totalitarian theories. What is more, he sought to unveil subjugated knowledge through an alternative approach, namely through a local character of criticism (Foucault 1980: 81). To that end, the particular historical-social problem in which he was interested was the transformation in the exercise of political power subsequent to the French Revolution. That Foucault's approach in "Governmentality" has been adopted as a universal tool for understanding ways in which political power functions speaks more, perhaps, to the malleability of the approach than to anything else. While he was interested in liberating previously inaccessible ways of seeing the world, his ideas have essentially displaced, for example, the Marxian approach and have been imbued with a similar degree of explanatory power. As is typical of scholarly discourse, Foucault's school of thought is replete with its own jargon ("imbricate", "governmentality", etc.), to the extent that one wonders whether the words themselves have become more important than the ideas.[28]

Be that as it may, Foucault's approach seems universalistic, which is perhaps what makes it so appealing. For example, in discussing the emergence of the art of governance in a specific context, he discusses upward and downward continuities linking together three entities, the state, economy and police. The state and the economy (meaning the original definition of economy presented in 3.1., not the later abstraction) are connected by the assumption that when the state is properly managed, the result will be that the family is

[28] Somewhat confounding is the notion that Foucault has been exposed to a kind of secular, hagiographic process, whereby scholars and students have come to believe that his approach was so new and original that no remotely similar ideas could have existed before he uttered them. Ines Dussel (2010), for example, posits: "After Foucault, it is difficult to state undauntedly that education is concerned solely with doing good to people and social progress" (27). It is the contention of the author here that such a statement would have been difficult to make even before Foucault. Social criticism cannot begin and end with Foucault, if only because he was interested in a different kind of knowledge, namely the particular.

managed properly, as well. The idea of police, meaning policy, connects to economy insofar as it is the economy's, and in turn the state's, enforcement or reinforcement mechanism (Foucault 1980: 96-97). Roughly put, this is the constellation of power in which the individual is connected to the mechanisms of society, the state-economy-police triad.[29]

In spite of the dearth of publications, Foucault's ideas carry a certain currency and should not be discarded simply because they have become standard in some halls of academia. Governmentality, however, is best understood as a critical description of the assumptions of liberalism. Arendt's (1958) ideas about the evolution of political power, namely from rule-by-one to rule-by-many, are as follows: "As we know from the most social form of government, that is, from bureaucracy, the rule by nobody is not necessary no-rule; it may indeed, under certain circumstances, even turn out to be one of its cruelest and tyrannical versions" (40). The core of Foucault's argument is that the apparatuses of power and control employed by the monarch from above were internalized by the nascent bureaucracy and consequently spread throughout society horizontally (Foucault 1980: 96-97). The parallels between these points are obvious. The ways in which power is exercised horizontally, and the tyranny that can result, cannot be analyzed by using Arendt's and Foucault's approaches alone.

Attempting to combine Foucault, Geertz and Arendt, however, is illuminating. Individuals shape, in concert, the social world. Meaning and significance are determined at the individual level, but the structures of power, in which individuals play an active surveillance role in sustaining and recreating, form categories or judgements regarding meaning and significance which the individual internalizes and then operationalizes. This horizontally dispersed power to determine and regulate meaning can be volatile. Such a combination is a breath of fresh air against the backdrop of static, "objective" conceptions of

[29] Contrasting this idea with the symbolic interpretative perspective as introduced by Geertz (1973), namely that a person is: "an animal trapped in webs of significance he [sic] himself has spun" (5), it becomes clear that both approaches are half-right. The individual plays a central role in enforcing and complying with the state-economy-police triad, but the "webs of significance" are not constructed by the individual alone; rather, she or he plays an active role in adding strands to a web that history and society have shaped, at least to the extent that understanding cannot take place without a kind of pre-understanding, just as a new sentence cannot be formed without at least a cursory understanding of grammar and syntax.

class divisions. The importance of this opening cannot be understated. The social world is complex, regardless of the perspective, and a more complex and, with that, open-ended approach to social structure and the way in which it is reinforced and reproduced via education is welcome.

4.2.2. Critical Theory and Education

A set of concepts which allows for the exploration of the exercise of power in heterogeneous, dynamic societies is all too necessary for comparing diverse education systems. The reader will perhaps realize that a suitable definition of education has yet to be introduced. The reason for this is uncomplicated: the notions of education in Germany and India are not the same; what is more, the ideas surrounding education vary tremendously *within* each country. It would make little sense to offer an abrupt, universal-seeming definition only to have it be changed again during the comparison. The reader's pre-understanding of the term, as long as it is even relatively open, will suffice.

Relating the ideas about power to the disconnect between pedagogical meaning and social practice, Florian Znaniecki (1998) contends:

> …*inefficiency* or *negative efficiency* of education in realizing the ideals nominally recognized by most modern educators is due to the fact that educational activity is a direct outgrowth of those activities on which so-called social control is based and is itself primarily a form of social control (37, emphases in original).

This idea can be taken even further by combining it with the notion of symbolic liberalism, which obscures the social reproductive functions of education. Better yet, as Bourdieu and Passeron (1971) argue, "The education system has the secret function of perpetuating and legitimizing the social order and is even more effective as this conservative function is concealed behind an ideological self-conception" (16; translated by author). An analysis of the dissonance between this secret, illiberal function and educational reforms will help frame the discussion.

Bourdieu's and Foucault's approaches are somewhat similar. They were both preoccupied with power, which Bourdieu viewed as coterminous with capital, both material and otherwise (Bourdieu 1986: 242), and society. While Foucault's oeuvre is sparse and leads one to focus on discourse, Bourdieu was prolific and throughout his career introduced a novel and comprehensive approach to understanding how (French) society functions. Perhaps unsatisfied with the strict materialist conception of society and culture, he developed an intensive schema for depicting social structure and its reproductive functions. While economic capital featured prominently in his schema, it was complemented by more ethereal – and less open to empirical substantiation – kinds of capital, namely social capital and cultural capital.

Bourdieu's (1986) stated reasons for going beyond economic capital are forthright: "It is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory" (241). Economic capital refers simply to the amount of material resources a person possesses and can mobilize in order to serve her or his purposes. While it would be interesting to include more here about historical changes in the conception of economic capital and the influences these have had, this would simply serve to highlight the prominence of economic capital in discussions of social structure and reproduction. The different kinds of capital can all be converted into one another at some stage, obscuring the dividing lines between them. Bourdieu, however, explains the connection between cultural capital and economic capital thusly:

> …the share in profits which scarce cultural capital secures in class-divided societies is based, in the last analysis, on the fact that all agents do not have the economic and cultural means for prolonging their children's education beyond the minimum necessary for the reproduction of the labor-power least valorized at a given moment (Bourdieu 1986: 244).

That cultural capital and economic capital are logically connected is a comprehensible idea. The task below will be to highlight the ways in which cultural capital is transmitted from generation to generation via education and the effect this has on the given social structure.

Bourdieu and Passeron's (2013) portrayal of this transmission of cultural capital from generation to generation is premised on the notion of reproduction, which must be further

explained in hopes of clarifying the ideas that will follow. According to them, social reproduction can be defined as: "the reproduction of the structure of the relations of force" (11). This explanation is important to keep in mind in that it helps to conceptualize Bourdieu's larger points about reproduction. Individuals are not reproduced by ideas alone; rather, the ideas are reflected in and through a larger structure which allocates levels of capital or, to employ Sen's (2003) jargon, the translation of capabilities into functionings.

According to Bourdieu (1986), the idea of cultural capital as a potential concept arose during his pondering of explanations behind differences in scholastic achievement between pupils. The human capital approach was entirely insufficient because, in Bourdieu's words, it: "does not move beyond economism and ignores, *inter alia*, the fact that scholastic yield from educational action depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family" (243). If pupils' school performance could be deduced directly from the relative amount of economic capital on behalf of their parents, a focus on economic capital alone would perhaps be appropriate.

Such singularly focused analyses have of course been performed, not least of which is Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis' (2011) now infamous *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life*. The book makes for a fascinating yet polemic read. The thrust of the analysis is that reproduction takes place in line with economic structures. They argue: "The halting contribution of U.S. education to equality and full human development appears intimately related to the nature of the economic structures into which the schools must integrate each new generation of youth" (53). As concerns the failures of reform endeavors, they continue: "We have seen both liberal educational reform and social theories on which reform is based flounder on an incomplete understanding of the economic system" (53). The problem with this approach stems from its adherence to a static and simplistic conception of social structure, with only two classes obtaining, namely the owners of the means of production and the workers. Would a perfect theoretical understanding of the economic system really lead to a perfect education system?

Although it has been suggested that Bourdieu can be interpreted as a kind of neo-Marxian, his approach to capital (power) allows for a more nuanced depiction of what capital is, how it works and the effect it has on social structure. Again, this is not to suggest that so-called objective class categories are wrong in and of themselves; rather, the stubborn adherence to objective categories produces a kind of blind spot when it comes to different

layers of distinguishing characteristics divorced in part from purely materialist causal or correlating factors. To simply argue that educational reform has not and cannot foster social, economic or cultural mobility because, for example, capitalism demands the reproduction of an industrial reserve army of unemployed does little to help the analyst understand the dynamics of the process. A strict materialist approach only tells part of the story.

Alas, the correlation between economic capital and educational outcome is incomplete, which leads to a search for new explanations. To the extent that cultural capital finds its institutionalization via educational qualifications, it will be the focal point of the analysis to follow. The transmission of cultural capital, according to Bourdieu (1986), begins right away in a given person's biography and continues through that person's broader socialization process. Schools, the formal institutions which perform this socialization function, are important objects of inquiry for analyzing social and cultural reproduction, but it should be duly noted that they are far from the only sources of transmission.[30] The idea that schools cannot be expected to have any kind of transformational impact on pupils because the pupils are already "broken" by the time they start school is wrong. The social environment into which a given child is born no doubt plays a role in cultural transmission and social reproduction, but the notion that school reforms have not been successful in the past and therefore cannot be successful in breaking or altering the reproductive cycle in the future is cynical beyond description and, what is more, underscores the ascriptive dimensions of reproduction. How can these ascriptive dimensions be overcome if not through education?

A close reading of Bourdieu and Passeron's (2013) *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* reveals the extent to which social inequalities, or differentiated and formalized obstructions to the means to lead a good life are reproduced via school structure. If education is equated with socialization, and socialization with the distribution of cultural capital, then it follows that education has a direct effect on cultural capital. Gosta Esping-Andersen (2005) concludes:

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[30] Esping-Andersen (2005), for example, contends: "Life chances are…powerfully determined by what happens in children's life prior to their first encounter with the school system. It is this that explains why a century of educational reform has failed to diminish the impact of social inheritance" (Esping-Andersen 2005: 31).

> The bad news, as far as educational reform is concerned, is that the real mechanisms of social inheritance lie mostly elsewhere. The prevailing view is that school and neighborhood effects are decidedly less important than are factors related to the family milieu (32).

If this were the case, it would mean that social position is static, forever tied to the milieu of a person's forebears, leading to a kind of permanent reproductive state. If education does not provide at least part of the answer for overcoming the social reproduction of inequality, the question regarding how a given school system could diminish the reproduction of social inequalities would be moot.

Before getting into the thick of Bourdieu and Passeron's ideas, it is perhaps illuminating to frame the reason for the elucidation of their theories. Bourdieu was interested in unveiling how elites became elites through the French education system, a system unique in its approach to education and credentials. The point here is not to take Bourdieu and Passeron's ideas and turn them into universalisms; rather, their theories will be exposed to a perfunctory critique and then linked to some of the ideas presented above before eventually being operationalized via an approach to examining reproduction. The following notion sums up the thrust of Bourdieu's (1989) later works concerning education:

> Assigning someone to a group of superior essence (noblemen as opposed to commoners, men as opposed to women, educated as opposed to uneducated, etc.) causes that person to undergo a subjective transformation that contributes to bringing about a real transformation likely to bring him closer to the assigned definition (112).

This rings true for assigning someone to a group of inferior essence, as well. This argument, appearing in Bourdieu's *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*, is central to conceptualizing his more theoretical work. The starting point for an analysis of reproduction in education is this subjective transformation.

First, and to link the analysis to the points made above, an explanation of Bourdieu's conception of symbolic violence or power is necessary. According to Bourdieu (1979), symbolic power is:

> the power to constitute the given by stating it, to show forth and gain credence, to confirm or transform the world itself, quasi-magical power which makes it possible to obtain the equivalent of what is obtained by (physical or economic) force, thanks to its specific mobilization effect… (83).

In Bourdieu's imagination, there is a certain dualism at play in the exercise of symbolic power, namely between: "those who exercise power and those who undergo it" (83).[31] The assumption of a dualism in the exercise of power can be problematic, a topic discussed above, but in the case of education, because of its well-demarcated dividing lines, it can lend itself to a tidy analysis of the workings of symbolic power. Before proceeding with an analysis of the relation between symbolic violence and education, however, a more open definition of symbolic violence must be presented, allowing for parallels to be drawn. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) define symbolic violence as: "the violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity" (167). This admittedly sparse definition shares certain family resemblances with the Gramscian notion of hegemony and with "false consciousness", a term which has been parried about by generations of Marxian thinkers but of which there is no written attribution to Marx. That a person can be complicit in his or her own domination, via coercion but usually through consent, is an appealing idea. What this means in the context of school, i.e. how symbolic violence unfolds in practice from the top down, is the topic under investigation.

Whether one chooses to call the effect of formal education "a form of social control", "symbolic violence" or, more optimistically, "socialization" is largely irrelevant. The same processes are at play regardless of the jargon in which they are couched. The logic of Bourdieu and Passeron's (2013) work is astoundingly consistent, lending the clauses a certain veneer of scientific universalism. Their arguments will be introduced and then evaluated with a view toward the historical reproduction of inequalities in diverse locales. To begin, the authors contend that: "symbolic violence, i.e. every power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, adds its own specifically symbolic force to those power relations" (4). This

[31] As Gregor Bongaerts (2011) points out, each side of the dualism is mutually exclusive (115).

essentially serves as their conceptual point of departure. They then go on to argue that pedagogic action, meaning the very relationship between teacher and pupil in the context of a formal educational institution, is arbitrary in two ways: first, what is being imparted or taught is arbitrary; and second, the power from which it stems is arbitrary. What is more, this two-pronged arbitrariness is based on power relations and symbolic relations and not purely on economic relations, although those, too, play a role (5-11).

Pedagogic action, meaning teaching, is symbolic violence insofar as it reflects the given power relations.

> In any given social formation the cultural arbitrary which the power relations between the groups or classes making up that social formation put into the dominant position within the system of cultural arbitraries is the one which most fully, though always indirectly, expresses the objective interests (material and symbolic) of the dominant groups or classes (9).[32]

These lines all but require an analysis of the objective interests of the dominant groups or classes. Such an analysis will be performed open-endedly, to the extent such an analysis is possible, in the next section, where the contours of the social structures of Germany and India will be loosely signposted.

That teaching, or pedagogic action, represents symbolic violence should at this point be clear. Education shapes as-yet-unformed pupils in such a way as to conform them to the dominant cultural arbitraries in society, and these cultural arbitraries are related to seemingly banal ideas including what to think, how to act, how to think, what to value, etc. In the context of competing notions of the "objective interests" of the dominant groups or classes in a given society, there is necessarily tension between different constellations of interests. This is to say that the given dominant cultural arbitrary does not have to be fixed nor universal. If,

[32] The cultural arbitraries in Indian and German approaches to secondary education will be explained in Chapters 5 and 6. Bourdieu and Passeron's (2013) "cultural arbitrary" can be interpreted as educational conservatism. The major difference, of course, is that cultural arbitrary as a concept attempts to get to the roots of educational conservatism. Also worth taking into account is the idea that "arbitrary" is not the same as "random" in this context. Throughout the rest of this dissertation, the term cultural arbitrary will appear without attribution.

for example, one could classify "technology" as a cultural arbitrary[33], the understanding of the term is exposed to a kind of constant renewal not only in line with objective technological changes but also with mastery of the technology being over- or undervalued at any given time.

The rise of Silicon Valley, the elite which arose with it and the discourse surrounding technological capabilities as social virtues, not to mention the enthusiastic yet ultimately sophomoric championing of gadgets in schools, can be understood together as a further development of the cultural arbitrary. The imposition of this cultural arbitrary – that is, teaching technology – is symbolic violence. Linking this idea to a standard approach (functionalism) in the sociology of education exemplifies well the problem at hand. Meg Maguire (2010) contends, "Education has been repositioned as a vital tool for creating and maintaining economic prosperity and for creating a competitive edge in world markets" (59). This is true at the surface, but by not problematizing the functionalist hope projected onto education and, in turn, onto children, a conversation about violence or power and a good life is all but disallowed. To what extent can economic prosperity and a competitive edge as cultural arbitraries lead to a good life for all and not just for some? That rising economic prosperity and a competitive edge are linked to rising inequality suggests that the orientation of the cultural arbitraries is not geared toward anything but the "objective interest" of the dominant groups or classes.

Considered from a different perspective, however, this claim is difficult to substantiate, if only because the constitution of the dominant groups or classes constantly undergoes a process of renewal, and the desired social structure is only imperfectly reproduced via the education system. When looking at something like social and institutional change, it becomes all too obvious that the so-called objective interests of a given society are not static. Pinpointing the features of a given social structure that are more or less static (although they likely should not be) lends itself to the posing of critical questions about

[33] In reality, technology is not a cultural arbitrary in and of itself. It is but one part of the larger cultural arbitrary linked to capitalism, rationalization and the division of labor in society.

symbolic violence and reproduction. With regards to education, Bourdieu and Passeron (2013) argue:

> Given that the historical and social conditions defining the limits of the relative autonomy an education system owes to its essential function define at the same time the external functions of its essential function, every education system is characterized by a functional duplicity which is actualized in full in the case of traditional systems, where the tendency towards conservation of the system and of the culture it conserves, encounters an external demand for social conservation (199).

Traditional education systems serve the function of reproducing the dominant structures in society through reproducing their own institutional logics and by conserving the social status quo.

This double conservative character of education is especially problematic once the roots of the logic behind a given system are traced back to their origins. That education must have some kind of functional character is beyond doubt; that any functional character will do as long as it "imbricates men and things" or creates jobs and economic growth is an entirely dubious proposition. It becomes necessary to put the historical roots of a given functional logic under the proverbial microscope in order to identify those characteristics which lead to the reproduction of social systems into which systemic inequality is built.

One is tempted to identify credentials as the root of the problem. Loïc Wacquant (1997), in a forward to the English translation of Bourdieu's *The State Nobility*, analyses the problem thusly:

> Credentials help define the contemporary social order…not only by sorting and allocating them across the different slots that make up the social structure, but also, and more importantly, by presenting the resulting inequalities between them as

ineluctable necessities born of the talent, effort, and desire of individuals (Wacquant 1997).[34]

Although the broader discussion surrounding credentials and credentialism is more geared toward the role of the state, the labor market and the long-term impacts of credential inflation (for example, see Brown 2001), the very notion of credentialism itself is highly problematic in terms of the social inequality it produces, as suggested by Bowles and Gintis (2011).

The critique of credentialism comes from two sides. On the one hand, credentialism is connected with grade inflation and a saturation of human capital, meaning the labor market of a given society becomes saturated and the status conferred by, for example, a high school diploma allows for less labor market access than it did in preceding decades. More people study, more people receive advanced degrees, which in turn leads to more expectations and competition, and this becomes a technical problem related to the allocation of socially desirable employment. Randall Collins (1981) identifies historical instances of precisely this problem, drawing specific attention to the decline of European universities subsequent to the medieval period (191-215). On the other hand, following a Marxian critique, the connection between social structure, education and credentials creates pathological class fractures in the service of capital. While increased access to education might do little to solve the functionalist problem, it would certainly help take care of the second problem.

It should be noted, however, that there is a prickly historical precedent associated with doing away with the credentialing system in one fell swoop. One year after the October Revolution of 1917, the Bolsheviks decided to do away with doctor's and master's degrees, terminated professors, got rid of academic steering councils and sought to fill vacated positions with politically unsoiled reputations. Formal training was not a requirement for applicants. This in and of itself did not pose any insurmountable technical problems, though it was most definitely chaotic. The parallel decision to allow free and universal enrollment to any citizen over the age of sixteen regardless of past education was certainly forward-

[34] This point echoes the sentiments of Parsons (1982), who approached the problem from a much different angle but nonetheless concluded that qualifications understood as membership or qualities regulate a given social system's access to different roles (Parsons 1982: 120).

thinking, but the fact that the makeup of students did not change and that university education was still viewed as an unattainable luxury is revealing. In fact, the proportion of workers and peasants enrolled at institutions of higher learning was lower by 1923-1924 than it had been in the last years of Tsarism (Pipes 1995: 327-328). Even social revolution and its extension to education could not alter altogether the social structure and the powers of credentialism.

It then becomes more useful to think about the ways in which education as a system can be divorced from more conservative, social-structure-reproducing elements in society without doing away entirely with what the desired ends of education should be, namely a good life. This is the point at which the historical genesis of a given system should come under intense scrutiny, for how can a system rooted in historical social division be expected to deliver social transformation at a time of crisis? There must be, after all, some kind of middle ground between the status quo, which reproduces an antiquated social structure, and revolution, which has involved and would ostensibly involve the dissolution – or "smashing" – of existing (bourgeois) structures. Even the World Bank, which has not historically been the most progressive of institutions,[35] comes to a middle ground conclusion about education and structure: "The overall finding is that simple resource policies—reducing class sizes, increasing teacher salaries, spending more on schools, and so forth—have little consistent impact on student performance when the institutional structure is not changed" (Hanushek and Wöβmann 2007: 20).

This conclusion, which was aimed at education systems in developing countries, is no less appropriate for education systems in the Global North. What is more, the conclusion links up nicely with Bourdieu and Passeron's (2013) points about education systems and history:

> So long as it is not forgotten that the relatively autonomous history of educational institutions has to be reinserted into the history of the corresponding social formations, certain features of the institution which first appear in conjunction with systematic transformations of the institution…may legitimately be regarded as

[35] For more on this, see Goldman's (2005) ethnographic study of the World Bank.

> significant thresholds in the process of the institutionalization of [pedagogic work] (55).

The link between history and the institutionalization process is understated. The interest in identifying a cultural arbitrary via deduction from the social structure with only a cursory pursuit of the connection between history and the social structure works to obscure the role that (institutionalized) historical social structures play in fostering the cultural arbitrary which forms the logic behind reproduction.

At face value, this supposed "relative autonomy" of the education system lends itself to a certain reading of the autonomy of actors within a given structure. Bourdieu and Passeron (2013) are, of course, quick to recognize that the interests of teachers are not always in line with the structures of the system at large. They summarize their position thusly:

> In short, if it is not acknowledged that a particular system of education is defined by a particular type and degree of autonomy, one tends to describe as simple specifications of generic processes, such as the tendency towards bureaucratization, characteristics of the functioning of the institution and of the agents' practice which stem from the power given to the School to fulfil its external functions in accordance with the principles defining its essential function of inculcation (191).

The idea is that education is both dependent on social classes while at the same time being relatively autonomous from the social structures it in the end reproduces. Interesting here is that educators and even the education system are imbued with relative autonomy and are at least partially divorced from the larger social structure.

This is interesting precisely because while the teaching corps as a whole is partially autonomous and can work through a partially autonomous system, the same cannot be said for pupils or parents or even individual teachers. This agency gap, according to Hugh Mehan (2012), is the principal shortcoming of Bourdieu's approach (270), although other problems with the approach can be identified as well, namely the empirical provability of, for example, exactly how the lower classes are devalued (265). These critiques, however, are more closely related to the struggle between agency and structure, with the conclusion being that both agency and structure are real and should be assigned equal analytical validity. Mehan goes on to argue: "We gain an image of the school as an interactional device that shapes students'

careers on the basis of an interplay between students' background characteristics and the institutional practices of the school" (275-276). This is all to miss Bourdieu and Passeron's point, that education as such rewards certain kinds of cultural capital while obscuring other kinds, all in line with the dominant classes of a given society. Agency is not simply disallowed. Instead, the cards are stacked against it, and the hegemonic dealer only rarely loses.

What is more, the plea for some kind of recognition on behalf of pupils, parents and teachers can be related to the concept of symbolic liberalism. The notion of symbolic liberalism helps to explain why the idea of agency in descriptions of educational outcomes is able to gain so much traction in the popular imagination. As discussed earlier, the education system of a given country does not reproduce the social structure of that country perfectly. Identifying exceptions to the rule and holding them up as proof that agency overcomes structure is a counterproductive exercise insofar as it works to obscure the relationship between education and reproduction. Instead of doubling down on education systems in their present forms because they allow for nominal mobility, the task should rather be to identify the functioning of the system as it relates to rewarding some forms of cultural capital in line with a given cultural arbitrary while disciplining or silencing others in hopes of ultimately reorienting the given system toward broader egalitarian principles.

This is all not to suggest that agency in and of itself is impossible; rather, the implication is that the structures of a given school system are functionalist and in line with a certain vision of social structure that all but disallows agency to be actualized. Building off Talcott Parsons, who argued that the two functions of the school system were socialization and selection or allocation (Parsons cited in Fend 2012: 161), Helmut Fend (2012) suggests that there are in fact three functions of a school system. The singular reproductive functions can be categorized as follows: in the first case, the reproduction of cultural systems goes through a process of institutionalization. This includes the institutionalization of symbolic systems, namely speaking and writing (162). The second function is related directly to the social structure, at least insofar as distribution of occupations or the division of labor is concerned. This allows for the transfer of social position as dictated by occupation from generation to generation. Put differently, the school functions as a mechanism for the division of opportunities or chances in life (162-163). In the third instance, Fend argues that school systems are mechanisms for social integration, and that this social integration is either wholly

determined by hegemony or at the very least is in line with hegemonic ideals (163). This is a fair breakdown of the functions of a given school system. What exactly is the implication, though? According to Dick Houtman (2003):

> …it is plausible that transferring cultural capital is not meant to reproduce social inequality but does so nonetheless. Thus the relevant research question is not whether cultural capital leads to educational attainment, since the truth of this is now widely accepted, but precisely how this process should be interpreted (Houtman 2003: 157).

This process should be interpreted as an unwanted historical relic, not held up as a foundational part of society.

4.3. Notes on the Intersection of History and Critical Theory

The importance of history in framing the cultural arbitrary and providing a basis for reproduction cannot be understated. Just as historical understanding helps to inform decisions made in the present, institutions carry the burdens of their respective wellsprings. A critical approach to education and the problems it faces in relation to new social dynamics must begin with a critical interrogation of the ideas underlying approaches to education. For education to allow people to lead a good life according to their own definition, it must be decoupled from its historical raison d'être and disconnected from the functionalist provision of cultural capital as connected to hegemony. Symbolic violence is perhaps unavoidable, because differences between individuals will hopefully always obtain. The idea here is not to problematize power in general but rather to look at the connection between power and history to identify the ways in which violent power is exercised. That being said, symbolic violence as a means for enforcing an oppressive system can be creatively circumvented.

An important first step in approaching the history of education systems is realizing that history is not something that can simply be wished away. Walter Benjamin (1968) perhaps best explains the burden of history and "progress" with this description of a painting by Paul Klee:

> A Klee painting named "Angelus Novus" shows an angel looking as though he is about to move away from something he is fixedly contemplating. His eyes are starting, his mouth is open, his wings are spread. This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. This storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. The storm is what we call progress (257-258).

While Benjamin's creative and critical explanation of history is appealing, it must be explained in its relation to society. The idea that history – particularly 20th Century European-driven history – is an enormous cognitive burden carries a great deal of currency. Horkheimer and Adorno (1997), for example, would have likely been on board with this understanding of history. Following Benjamin's ideas, one ought to search for the roots of catastrophe and attempt to come to terms with how the catastrophe has been kept alive going into the future. This is where examining critical junctures and their impacts on the formation of cultural arbitraries becomes important. History affects institutions. The effect of history on education and social structure, however, is much more ambiguous.

History can provide the conceptual link between social structure and institutions. There are diverse concepts providing this link, but the most readily comprehendible is Wallerstein's (2004) depiction of what he refers to as an historical (social) system, namely that: "all social systems are simultaneously systemic (they have continuing characteristics that can be described) and historical (they have a continuing evolving life and are never the same from one moment to the next)" (94). This definition, though, leaves much to be desired. That an historical (social) system exerts a discursive power on the actual social system is implied, but the way in which this process works is thoroughly unclear. One can speak of institutions, for example, and discuss the ways in which they have evolved over time, but the starting point of the evolution – which is where the importance of history comes into play – is important insofar as its frames the contours of the "continuing evolving life". Just looking at institutions and supposing that they shape human life – instead of the other way around, that

human life shapes institutions – imbues the institutions, in turn, with too much explanatory power.

While both Wallerstein's definition and his world-systems theory are certainly plausible, they have certain blind spots, as well, a common shortcoming amongst system theorists. For example, Wallerstein argues that the present world-system has existed since the 16th Century and has since constantly expanded and now encompasses nearly the entire world. Part and parcel of this system is a generalized division of labor, one which started in Northwest Europe and eventually came to encapsulate and define the entire geographic world (again, with exceptions), dividing the states of the world into periphery and core, all parts of the same logic of production and accumulation (Wallerstein 2004: 22-24), which should be enough to lead the reader to conclude that the approach is an extension of the Marxian conception of the logic behind the relation between labor and capital. The totality of the logic behind world-systems theory and its historical extension is such that any possible empirical example of how this is not the case is dismissed with a kind of clever sleight of hand. South-South trade, for example, would either be depicted as entirely ineffectual or as a development of a nascent world system in and of itself.[36]

In conceptualizing one part of the relationship between society and history, it becomes apparent that Benjamin's approach is perhaps too cynical (for lack of a better adjective) and Wallerstein's is focused too much on the historical, materialist logic of the system in its totality. Locating a middle ground between these conceptions of history is necessary before

[36] That being said, world-systems theory does offer a great deal of insight into how social problems are manifest and, at least to a small extent, how they can be overcome. Korzeniewicz and Moran (2009), for example, employ world-systems analysis in order to understand how social inequality is and has been reproduced across the world-system. In so doing, they come to some fairly milquetoast conclusions about how inequality functions. At the global level: "The use of ascriptive criteria to sort populations and thereby construct what is skilled or unskilled has been constitutive of the very creation and reproduction of inequality" (103). That is, of course, both true and unsurprising. Ascriptive criteria lead to the reproduction of social inequalities, because these criteria are simply transmitted from one generation to the next (i.e. historically), namely through the transference of cultural capital (and often symbolic capital) via education. While the authors are most interested in between-country inequality and how it, by way of relative national economic growth, can be overcome (106), they offer this suggestion as a panacea of sorts for overcoming within-country inequality: "the gradual displacement of ascription by achievement" (101). How can this take place if the historical logic underlying an institution responsible for this displacement is premised on ascription and not achievement?

the actual analysis can be performed. In the next subsection, an appropriate conception of history will be arrived at by examining the relations between theory, history, social structure, education and reproduction. These relations will tie together the ideas explored above to the comparison to follow. The reasons behind the "symptomatic reading" of the thinkers above will hopefully become comprehensible to the reader. One can, after all, admire part of a school of thought while remaining critical of what it means to be a "member" of a school of thought and of the notions underlying it. For example, one can admire John Dewey's ideas about education without having to believe that pragmatism as a philosophy offers much in the way of understanding people and the world. Such is the benefit of being an outsider on the inside of academia.[37]

4.4. Theory, History, Society and Education

Many historical analyses in the school of institutionalism focus on antecedent conditions to explain why certain (historical) decisions were made. This makes it very difficult to pinpoint when and even where a particular approach to education, for example, has its genesis. Some argue that "modern pedagogy" has its roots in the Reformation (Oelkers 1995: 31); others posit that it springs, like most socially "good" (Eurocentric) approaches, from the Hellenic tradition (Romein 1955: 61). These ideas can be plausibly argued into the ground, yet in the end, the respective points of departure are still arbitrary. This begs the question as to how the imbrication of history and education, for example, can be conceptualized.

At best, it can be stated that education systems, with a few exceptions, are connected to an outdated, functionalist and/or materialist conception of the division of labor in society. The logic of this functionalist division of labor has led to an uneven distribution of economic, cultural and even symbolic capital through the broad use of symbolic violence or power. This uneven distribution is enforced and reinforced by formal (public and private), state-

[37] As the funniest Marx (Groucho) once remarked, "I don't care to belong to any club that will have me as a member" (Marx cited in Gardner 2009: 9).

sanctioned education, which in turn reinforces that which constitutes a socially valued or good life. If an education system is based on a functional division of labor, and this division of labor is unable to deliver on its promise of a good life, then the basis of the education system must be revisited. Deciding which parts of a given approach to education should be disposed of and which should be retained is a complicated matter; for a clean break with history, a truly clean break, everything ought to be rethought and reinvented, including curriculums, bureaucratic structures, standards, hierarchies, etc. This, of course, sounds painful and runs the risk of, as Arendt (1954) contends, becoming disenchanted with the world and passing this disenchantment on to subsequent generations, a transmission of disenchantment which Spivak (2012), in turn, encourages.

Root and branch change, the complete transformation of systems which function imperfectly, could be dangerous, adding a level of complexity to the task of the social historian. Identifying those features which can be tied directly to pathological origins and explaining how these features interact with politics, culture and political economy to exert an outsize influence on social structure in a seemingly never-ending loop becomes the central task for the student of education, inequality and reproduction. In some ways, the analytical thrust of this dissertation shares a family resemblance with criticisms regarding the prevailing racial divides within the United States, namely that the country's institutions and society at large have been unable to come to terms with the United States' "original sin", racial slavery.[38] The imagination of a social world shorn of its historical baggage lends itself to an imagination of a just world. By failing to critically interrogate history in general and 20th Century history in particular, society can only, as Benjamin (1968) suggested, gaze at the wreckage it has left in its wake.

A given education system is, as discussed above, first and foremost concerned with reproduction on several fronts: first, it reproduces the skills necessary for broad economic performance and growth; second, it reproduces the general conditions necessary for the transmission of culture from the past into the future; and finally, it reproduces citizens as subjects. Continuity, replacement and, somewhat paradoxically, incremental growth are the

[38] The extermination of Native Americans could qualify as the United States' original sin, as well.

goals. This becomes particularly important in countries in which a "baby boom" generation of the past nears retirement age. In these cases, one notices the hysteria of public debates about being able to: meet welfare obligations for the aging populations; deal with anxiety associated with generational, cultural change; and respond to political crises. The debates are not about allowing for more people to live good lives; rather, they focus on maintaining the status quo, as if the status quo represented the best possible social world. Perhaps this helps to explain the slow pace of reform and the unwillingness to grapple with the intersection of history and education. This point will, of course, be threshed out during the comparison.

4.5. Toward an Appropriate Theory

As mentioned above, Bourdieu's approach to the study of social structure and the sociology of education has gained tremendous traction within academia, although the operationalization of his approach is generally – and with some justification – applied to objects of inquiry within the Global North. Similarly, subaltern studies, which originated in South Asian area studies, have been used to analyze similar social phenomena, although mainly – and with exceptions – in the context of societies in the Global South. To the extent that this project attempts to analyze phenomena in both the North and South, it is necessary to combine the key features of each approach, as signposted in the preceding subsections, and to turn them loose, in a matter of speaking, on the objects of inquiry. The next paragraphs will represent a synthesis of the approaches. This synthesis will then be put to use via a general critique of political economy before it is set into a relation of sorts with the ruminations on the importance of history as outlined above. This will sufficiently frame both the comparison section and the more critically optimistic discussion section.

The most distinctive similarity between subaltern studies and the Bourdieuian approach is the way in which violence (or power or oppression) functions, namely obscurely. In this way, subaltern studies have highlighted the voicelessness of the subaltern, for example, an idea which is plausible but unfortunately – and for obvious reasons – cannot really be proved empirically. Instead, the phenomenon of voicelessness in the face of oppression becomes recognizable through a critical process of understanding. Symbolic violence functions similarly, meaning it does not become recognizable through empiricism

alone but must be conceptualized through a hermeneutic process of understanding. While the ideas of oppression, again connected to the Gramscian notion of hegemony, and symbolic violence are not entirely coterminous, they can be rightly understood as describing very similar processes. This is brought further to bear by a cursory look at Spivak's (2010) epistemic violence, which follows that the subalterns' approach to and understanding of knowledge is rendered mute and moot by (colonial) power interests (35). One can understand Bourdieu's violence in a similar way. The subjective change brought about via education is caused by symbolic violence. Epistemic violence is but the most extreme form of this violence. It has the same goal: the production of subjectivities.

The chief difference between the two approaches stems from their different objects of inquiry. Bourdieu was highly interested in elites; subaltern studies, as the name implies, focuses on the downtrodden. While Bourdieu described the effects of education as causing a person to go through a subjective transformation via symbolic violence which leads to an actual transformation in line with hegemonic ideals (see above) in his critique of elite schools, subaltern studies describes a similar process, albeit with a focus on the how this transformation is premised on capitalism (neocolonialism) and affects the bottom of the social structure. In any event, both approaches are fully capable of contextualizing the subjective transformation brought to bear on members of society via education.

It seems, then, that the most significant difference between the approaches is not that they are confined to different objects of inquiry; after all, one could quite comfortably employ subaltern studies to study elite schools in late-20th Century France, just as one could adequately analyze Indian social structure by employing Bourdieu's methods. The results of such studies would in all likelihood be similar, save for two significant points of distinction: nomenclature and, somewhat relatedly, dualisms.

To the latter distinction: it would be incorrect to state that subaltern studies relies in all cases on tidy dualisms (oppressed-oppressor, North-South, colonized-colonizer, etc.). One could make the argument that, just as colonial structures and the cultural prisms they relied on for their enforcement have made it all but impossible for the subaltern to realize his or her own voice, post-industrial and industrializing, nominally sovereign societies of all stripes face similar processes, as do the individuals peopling those societies. This applies, too, to the elite, although the elite quite obviously do not need to deploy strategies to ensure their voices are heard, provided their ideas are in line with hegemonic ideals, so-called "common value

orientations" or what have you. Nearly all members of society are subject to the aforementioned subjective transformation via education, although the subalterns undergo the most epistemically violent of transformations.

Differences in terminology need not be explained again at this point. In the context of oppression and violence, though, it seems Bourdieu can add something to subaltern studies insofar as he suggests that everyone is subject to symbolic violence, although to differential degrees depend on the amount of capital one has at his or her disposal. Adding Foucault to the mix, everyone in society is complicit, again to somewhat varying degrees, in the enforcement of this regime of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence turns the oppressor into the oppressor just as it turns the oppressed into the oppressed through, among other processes, education. Society writ large assigns these subjectively determined positions, but these positions are certainly not concrete and are largely perspectival. The subaltern can be oppressed by society but can, in turn, be the oppressor in a familial or neighborhood context, just as the hegemon – the elite – can function as the oppressor while being oppressed in different contexts.

This is not to suggest that everyone is equally oppressed. Subaltern studies is right in suggesting that the phenomenon of voicelessness is not the same thing as Bourdieu's "subjective transformation". The notion here is rather that they are symptomatic of the same problem, namely the violence done by and, in turn, to society via education. The oppressed – the truly voiceless – bear the brunt of this violence, but all levels of society are subjected to it. Violence and oppression can be mitigated – although never completely avoided – by policies of egalitarianism, openness and inclusion. Chapters 5 and 6 will provide a picture of the highly imperfect steps taken to address the violence done through formal education. Again, understanding how and why change takes place over time is a necessary step toward imagining how future transformations can take place.

By framing the theoretical focus of this dissertation in such a way as to underscore the historical role of power, violence and oppression, the hope is that this work can go beyond the mainstream discussions of inequality which focus on neatly partitioned ideas of individual responsibility and unequal circumstances. In the realm of school education, the argument that differences in pupils' achievement or attainment levels ultimately stem from pupils' "good" or "bad" decisions in shaping their own life-courses is shallow and, what is more, reflects a fundamental misunderstanding of the way in which formal education was conceived

historically and the contemporary effects it has on pupils. People are thankfully not born with entirely equal traits or abilities. This is entirely natural. The school systems as they were conceived and as they now function have the effect of naturalizing unequal circumstances. This is entirely unnatural. Discussions of inequality as stemming from individual responsibility (liberalism) only make sense subsequent to the egalitarianization of circumstances, a situation which can only obtain once formal education ceases to do violence to its charges.

4.6. Violence, Oppression, Economy and Education

The connection between the sociology of education and the economy has been discussed in brief above. That the sociology of education is concerned with how education fits the demands of the economy is both unsurprising and unfortunate. Such is the legacy of the functional approach to education, which focuses not on the symbolic violence and oppression as practiced via formal education but rather on the compatibility of economy and learning. This idea quite obviously relates to the concerns of economists, as well. Thomas Piketty (2014), in discussing the dynamics of inequality in the 21st Century, contends, "Knowledge and skill diffusion is the key to overall productivity growth as well as the reduction of inequality both within and between countries" (21) and, "the best way to increase wages and reduce wage inequalities in the long run is to invest in education and skills" (313). It follows, then, that the problem is simply one of resource allocation. Skills would be better (or more effectively) diffused and inequality reduced if only more resources were diverted to education.

Piketty, of course, is not entirely wrong, but he does get tripped up empirically and analytically in noting that the explosion of wages/wealth of the top centile in the United States since the 1970s cannot be explained by focusing on the "educational factor" (Piketty 2014: 315). His ambitious analysis seems to have become a lightning rod of sorts for both praise and criticism. With regards to education's contribution to inequality via its reproductive qualities, his analysis appears a tad naïve, a criticism which is by no means unique to him but rather one that could be leveled against much of the field. By means of a conclusion, he writes that everywhere: "one of the main objectives of public spending for

education is to promote social mobility. The stated goal is to provide access to education for everyone, regardless of social origin. To what extent do existing institutions fulfill this objective?" (485).

The question is hopefully rhetorical, at least if Piketty believes the conclusions that he draws, not least of which is that in-country inequality is growing and is fast becoming the most pronounced contemporary social problem. This opens up some additional points which beg address. One notices a tension – if not an outright paradox – between the need to fill vacancies and projected vacancies in the labor market and the stated goals of education systems, namely social mobility and equality. If liberalism was indeed a political and cultural program worth following, it would follow that the latter is more important than the former. Symbolic liberalism, or liberalism in name only, obscures this tension between a system predicated on function and one based on egalitarianism or equality. From an economic perspective, it only makes sense that education should first and foremost be in line with economic considerations and the connected idea that because something follows economic principles – in this case supply and demand – it is a just and correct approach. After all, who could really argue with the notion that the goal of a national education system should be to match and meet the labor market's demands?

Economic considerations are somehow imagined as moral considerations or, as Polanyi (2001) contends, "…it is all too easily assumed by economic liberals that economic rulers tend to be beneficial…" (173). This is not to suggest that economic considerations are in and of themselves bad things; rather, the argument here is that the field of education has been too much occupied with economic considerations and the ability of schools to be reproductive *economically*. In complex societies, perhaps it is true that education must serve some kind of reproductive role vis-à-vis the economy, but if this is the sole focus of educational endeavors, and emancipatory considerations are not taken into account, generational inequality stemming from uneven levels of cultural and symbolic capital or power will be ignored and, as may be the case, muted when it comes to their relations to hegemonic ideals or value-orientations. If inequality was only related to the amount of money in a person's pocket, the case would be different. Alas, inequality is something more complex, which in turn necessitates complex, not-solely-economic responses.

When analyzing the history of educational reforms from the Bourdieuian and subaltern studies perspectives, then, it follows that an understanding of economic

circumstances surrounding a given reform are important; they are not, however, the only or likely even the most important considerations and thus should not and will not be imbued with too much explanatory power. Again, material relations – or economic capital – shape the contours of the social world not by themselves but rather in concert with less measurable and logically deducible influences and forms of capital. In other words, those who possess scant or no economic capital are certainly susceptible to having their voices muted, but economic capital is hardly the sole cause (or effect) of voicelessness or subjective transformations. Other factors, even if they are difficult to recognize empirically, are significant, as well, and will thus be considered in the comparison section.

4.7. Conclusion

Bringing together diverse theoretical perspectives and attempting to synthesize them before unleashing them on objects of inquiry can be an exacting task. To begin, and with reference to Chapter 3, it can be stated that the positivistic (or functionalist) and materialist approaches, as espoused by Durkheim and Marx, are compelling yet fall short of being sufficient for the this project's objects of inquiry. Weber's approach, which has been labelled interpretivistic, is open enough to allow for a sufficient analysis; however, it is still preoccupied with arriving at causal relationships and has a situated, Eurocentric and universalistic aim. Gandhi, who also had universalism as his goal, left his view of the universal open in what has been referred to as non-chimeric universalism. This orientation, which allows for the potential importance of particularities in cautiously approaching – yet never actually arriving at – the universal, is highly preferable in that it sheds itself of the baggage associated with Eurocentric social scientific value-orientations and can hopefully operate outside of the bounds of the universal-relative dichotomy.

The latter part of Chapter 3, in which epistemological ruminations and modernization theory were juxtaposed, was included with the aim of bringing together the ideas that: first, theories of knowledge are inappropriately placed in a sort of hierarchy, prizing some at the expense of others, leading to blind spots which effectively obscure some important social scientific explanations; and second, that conceptions of modernity and its operationalization in the form of modernization theory and liberal/progressive educational approaches tell only

part of the story. Combining these ideas, it can be concluded that modernization theory, because it is based on a theory of knowledge that has a kind of culturally situated tunnel vision, has been precluded from successfully delivering on the promises it has made. What is more, it has done great epistemic violence (Spivak 2010: 35) to other ideas.

Chapter 4, which was occupied with education as seen from the perspectives of post-colonial theories, critical theories and history, outlined some basic theories for the way in which reproduction functions via education. Although post-colonial theories are appealing in that they conceptualize oppression and seek ways in which this oppression can be overcome, they are insufficient in that they operate on the premise of a binary relationship between oppressors and the oppressed, a critique which might also be leveled against subaltern studies. If education was as simple as the oppressors oppressing the oppressed, solutions would be very easy to imagine.

Critical theory is an attractive alternative insofar as it shares the same goal as many post-colonial theories, namely liberation, but has a more nuanced and plausible understanding of the ways in which power works. With that in mind, understanding the intersection of critical theory and history allows for an imagination of how historical institutions, for example, have contributed both directly and indirectly to the exercise of power or symbolic violence. The pathological, reproductive historical structures embedded within the German and Indian approaches to secondary education must be recognized and ideally altered, lest one of the greatest social challenges, growing social inequality, is allowed to become fully entrenched in these societies.

The fifth subsection (4.5.) included a more practical approach to the ways in which education and the reproduction of inequalities can be investigated from a social-historical perspective, namely via an adjusted combination of subaltern studies and critical theory. Against the backdrop of an open-ended orientation toward a good or socially valued life, which has been set up as non-chimeric universalism, a pluralistic approach which allows for analyses of various social-structure-transforming features as they relate to historically situated events – school reforms and society in India and Germany – is entirely appropriate if one wishes to understand the complex relationships between history, society, education, reproduction and, ultimately, transformation.

It has likely dawned on the reader at this juncture that approaches to the sociology of education as they relate to Germany and India, respectively, have not been addressed. These were consciously left out of Chapters 3 and 4 precisely because they are situated within the contexts of the national education systems. To that end, extant approaches to education, the sociology of education and skeletal ideas about social structure will be enumerated and compared in the next section. The theories presented here are broad enough to allow for connections and parallels to be drawn between two vastly different social systems and societies and, more to the point, the ways in which education reproduces inequalities within the historical, socializing structures of those societies. These roots of these structures reflect oppression à la subaltern studies and the symbolic violence related to Bourdieu's different forms of capital. It is the author's hope that the combination of the South Asia-centric subaltern studies and the Eurocentric Bourdieuian approaches, in combination with a critical-theoretic approach to history, will uncover the generic mechanisms which work to obscure the socially reproductive functions of the education systems and prevent pupils from imagining and pursuing a good life.

5. COMPARISON - EDUCATION IN INDIA AND GERMANY UNTIL 1947/1945

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Both India and Germany were presented with tremendous opportunities to reorient their respective post-independence and postwar approaches to secondary education.

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In order to sufficiently substantiate the thesis statement put forth in the introductory paragraph, it is key to critically analyze: first, social structure as it is related to sociologies of education (5.1.); second, the historical wellsprings of the German and Indian approaches to national education (5.2.) without, of course, getting lost in the minutiae of historicity; and finally, the respective critical junctions and the resultant decisions that were made concerning secondary education (5.3.). The highly problematic and illiberal origins of the German and Indian approaches to secondary education have heretofore not been addressed with appropriate rigor. The logics underlying the systems have little to do with providing opportunities for pupils along egalitarian lines and much to do with a highly conservative (or illiberal) sorting function. Whether or not social justice in education will lend itself to social justice outside of the classroom is immaterial at this point; the focus here is on why and how attempts to realize social justice in the classroom as an end in and of itself have been frustrated by conservative, historical structures. This is not to say that all subsequent reforms can simply be dismissed as having been “too little, too late”; it is the case, however, that all reforms represented to varying extents a kind of disjuncture between new and outdated visions and progressively inclined and conservative ideas, resulting in an increased state of perpetual and needless symbolic violence. For the inertia of educational conservatism to be overcome, it must be understood.

5.1. Notes on the Sociologies of Education

Having introduced the argument that social structure cannot simply be deduced from productive relations but instead represents a composition of different factors, it is necessary to introduce sketches of both the Indian and German social structures as they relate to the sociologies of education. Reconstructing historical social structures in both locales would certainly offer tremendous insight into how social structures change and can change over time, but such an endeavor is beyond the purview of the project. Arriving at a satisfactory depiction of the way in which society is structured along educational lines allows for an analysis of how a given society has arrived where it has arrived.

The first step is a more refined definition of social structure. While Chapter 4 introduced some ways in which a social structure can be pondered, it eschewed a formal definition in favor of a series of important considerations. Paraphrasing Rehbein (2007), social structure can be imagined as the distribution of the means to carry out socially relevant activities, and these activities are defined by the division of work (30). This idea – the division of work – allows for an open-ended definition of work, one that encompasses unremunerated labor – child-rearing, housework, eldercare, etc. – which falls outside of the purview of traditional political economy. A faithful deduction of social structure from a simple division of labor necessarily silences other vital social roles and, accordingly, obscures the influence of non-economic types of capital. Education is related to the social structure only to the extent that it leads to roles in the division of labor. That being mentioned, a division of work, including education and other unremunerated activities, should not be viewed as coterminous with a social structure. Other identifiers – religion, race, caste, gender, creed, language, to name just a few – interact complexly to distribute work and thus form society. What is more, these identifiers collide differentially in such a way as to render simple class-based analyses ineffective in faithfully depicting social structure.

Notions of the division of labor are inappropriate for relaying the complexities of a given society. An initial criticism of depictions of German social structure is that society is viewed as a container[39] which neatly houses the functional division of labor and its three

[39] The container is also referred to as a house in the literature. For example, see Dahrendorf (1959).

objective classes. It turns out this approach is now too simplistic and programmatic. In India, socio-religious stratification in the form of caste is viewed as the defining feature of the social structure. While divisions of labor and caste stratification, respectively, certainly contribute to the structuring of each society, neither approach is capable of encapsulating the contours of the respective social structures. Further complicating the matter in all cases is that social structure is never static. The task for the social scientist is to approximate the patterns which form a social structure, not to create a simple, unchanging depiction of one. To the extent that education guides and shapes social action by brokering the translation of capabilities into functionings (Sen 2003), ensures the differentiated provision of different kinds of capital (Bourdieu 1989) or actively oppresses large chunks of a given population (Spivak 2010), it can be approached as the proverbial thread that holds the social patterns together. This thread, however, comes in both places from similar spools: outdated and wholly inappropriate conceptions of the relationship between society and education, a relationship embodied in the gravity of educational conservatism. The points of reference for this conservatism[40] – 19th Century ideas – have persisted in spite of great opportunities to shift or redefine them, the most significant of which being 1945 in Germany and 1947 in India.

5.1.1. India

For the most part, the sociology of education in India approaches its objects of inquiry against the backdrop of a complex society, with divisions attached to religion, caste, language, geography and material relations at both the global and local levels. The divisions in Indian society are myriad and run along multiple fault lines. One commanding approach has been to study the educational strategies of the Indian middle classes. As Geetha M. Nambissan (2010), one of the country's most prominent sociologists of education, brings to bear, the most surefire option for securing "elite upper middle class status" in India is either through English-medium public (in the British sense) schools or education abroad. This forms a pronounced strategy at the middle to top of the social structure. The strategy of sending

[40] Educational conservatism serves here and below as a euphemism for the initial cultural arbitrary formed by the dominant interests embedded in the Indian and German approaches to secondary education.

children to private schools, however, is not just the purview of the elite; rather, it has spread to varying degrees throughout the broad middle classes, aided by the "Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization" (LPG) reforms, ultimately leading to "the downsizing of the public sector" (286-287). The privatization of secondary education is no doubt an interesting trend and furthermore greatly complicates the discussion of education as a public good. In this sense, although Germany has seen a slight yet still minimal uptick in private secondary schools, the situation in India is different in terms of scale and quality and can be interpreted as an expression of frustration on the part of the middle classes with public education. Nambissan (2010) explains the issue: "…strategies and practices of middle-class fractions have led to the rapid growth of the unregulated private sector in education, which is exploiting the aspirations, anxieties and often helplessness of families belonging to the lower tiers of these classes" (293).

It seems that private schools are becoming entrenched in India, both in rural and in urban settings. According to estimates in India's Annual Status of Education Report (ASER 2014), for example, thirty-one percent of rural children attend private schools, with an aggregated estimate for all of India at thirty-nine percent (2). This, combined with the power of the provinces to steer their respective education policies, decreases the control and influence of the federal government, with the notable exception of the skeletal structure of the education system, which most private schools must adhere to in any event. The privatization of education has been understandably greeted with scrutiny by academics. Nambissan (2010), for example, airs this reservation: "What is of concern is that sections of the poorer/working classes are today seeking 'quality education' for their children in English-medium schools, and that the unregulated private sector sees this as a business opportunity" (293). The situation is compounded by the fact that very little is known about the Indian middle classes in terms of their educational aspirations (294). Perhaps frustration with public schools has facilitated the explosion of private schools, but there is little reason to hope that private schools will be more effective in allowing, for example, capabilities to become functionings (Sen 2003) if the logic behind the schools is profit and not service of the public good.

This public-private divide in education has far-reaching implications. Far from the classical liberal idea of the market acting as an invisible hand, justly distributing resources, the spread of private schools in India has done little to decouple school structure from social structure. According to K.L. Sharma (2013), the education gap in India still persists 60 years

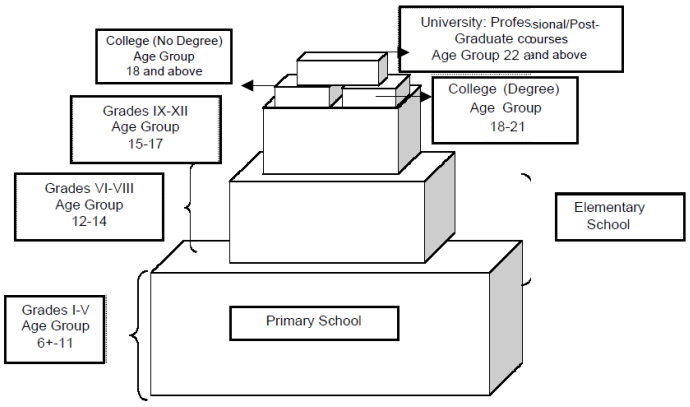
after independence and, what is more: “Access to education is differentiated as there is a hierarchy of educational institutions, more or less parallel to social hierarchy in India” (Sharma 555). This hierarchy has not disappeared in spite of the promises of market-based solutions. That being said, Sharma asserts that the overall trend is a net positive: “Based on various reports, it can be said that due to several factors, including social awakening, economic development, and political freedom, there has been a decline in inequality of educational opportunity in the post-liberalization period” (557). The author, however, goes on to contradict this very statement later on by suggesting that the correlation between educational stratification and social stratification has not decreased.

From his point of view, the problem is not that education has been privatized; rather, the problem is that this privatization has neither directly nor indirectly increased the quality of public education. As will be seen, however, it has in fact had some important indirect effects. Sharma (2013) arrives at a major sticking point in the sociology of education in India: despite reforms, “India continues with the colonial legacy, at least in two ways: (1) English-educated manpower to administer India; and (2) structures, institutions, and norms and procedures, which were created by the British” (557). This is precisely what is meant by educational conservatism, a feature of the public sphere which should be rooted out.

One could even go so far as to say, echoing Polanyi, that the meteoric rise of private schools in India represents a transition from the market being imperfectly embedded in institutions (schools) to institutions being perfectly embedded in the market. On the one hand, then, Indian education has undergone a neo-liberal shift, with the idea being that private institutions can offer a viable alternative to public ones, and this shift has arguably had some positive implications in terms of access to and quality of education; on the other hand, these private institutions, while being embedded in the market, are duly embedded in the colonial structures introduced by the British. If it is in fact the case that the privatization of education is unable to deliver on its utopian promises and is actually a pathological process which inhibits egalitarianism and social mobility and is embedded in a colonial and even neo-colonial structure, it would appear that education in India, broadly speaking, offers very little hope for being able to deliver social mobility and equality. This double embeddedness makes meaningful reform extremely difficult but does not entirely preclude it. The first step, however arduous, necessarily involves disembedding education from its erstwhile colonial

structures and reanchoring education's goals in an egalitarianism which postpones meritocratic measures instead of in oppression.

Other studies focus on specific caste,[41] class and gender groups, and explore the relationship between performance, social mobility and somewhat narrowly defined groups. Divya Vaid (2004), for example, analyzes the gender divide obtaining during what she calls "educational transitions", first from primary to secondary school, from lower secondary to upper secondary and then from upper secondary to university. Her conclusions, that those from "socially deprived origins" face significant transitional obstacles and that females face more challenges at every transitional stage, regardless of social background (3935-3936), are certainly enlightening in that they speak to significant divisions regarding class/caste, gender and, more importantly, at their intersections. Perhaps even more enlightening, however, is Vaid's depiction of "educational transitions" which can be seen in what she rightly refers to as a simplified model:



(from Vaid 2004: 3930)

[41] While it is optimistically argued that the emergence of the middle classes problematizes the "inheritance of occupations" dictated by the static caste system, this is not necessarily the case (Vaid 2014: 392). Caste identity is, in fact, important, but suggesting it is either static or under imminent threat is highly problematic. In fact, much recent literature challenges the orientalist presumptions that castes are static and unique to India (Vaid 2014; Jodhka 2012). The four Varnas in the traditional reading of caste hierarchy are as follows: Brahmins (doctors and priests), Kshatriyas (rulers and warriors), Vaishyas (traders) and Shudras (laborers), with so-called "untouchables" being extraneous to the system and thus not representing any caste at all (Vaid 2014: 393). Along these simplistic lines of the religious division of occupations, India's social structure has been viewed as unchanging. While caste and sub-caste identity is very much important for some social practices, namely marriage, the idea that the caste system is absolute and static is problematized by group mobility and intergenerational, individual social mobility (395).

The "educational transitions" happen in between each of the blocks, representing a logical winnowing of school participants the higher up the pyramid one goes.

Educational transitions make for compelling analyses. Anirudh Krishna (2014), for example, focuses on the transition from upper secondary to tertiary education, with a particular emphasis on a growing field, namely engineering. His conclusions, that equality of opportunity does not really exist in the field of education and access to engineering training and jobs (a socially valued activity) is predicated on the social origins of the individual, and that this can only be overcome by increasing the quality of education throughout India, are far-reaching and compelling (25) and certainly help to answer his broad question, "who becomes an engineer?" What is more, those who possess enough cultural capital find an easier path to participating in a socially valued activity. Those whose reserves of cultural capital do not line up with the cultural arbitrary or who do not speak the language of the cultural arbitrary are sorted out of the system in the name of meritocracy

A significant amount of the literature on the sociology of education in India focuses on infrastructure in describing the challenges pupils face.[42] With such a large population and a large land mass, the actual construction and provision of schools in India becomes a daunting task. Singh, Singh and Lata (2008), for example, point out that many states in India do not have enough classrooms for all of the children (223), providing a significant infrastructural barrier to quality, universal education. Uneven geographic development then becomes a complicating factor. What is more, they go on to enumerate another structural problem, one related to economy:

> Poor families are also more likely to keep girls at home to care for younger siblings or to work in family enterprises. If a family has to choose between educating a son or daughter because of financial restrictions, typically the son will be chosen (Singh, Singh and Lata 2008: 223).

[42] This is a problem which Germany had not had to face since the end of World War II, but it is becoming a more significant issue as infrastructure from the turn of the last century begins to crumble.

Sending a child to school represents an opportunity cost, given that the child could otherwise contribute in some way to household or livelihood work.

Linking these ideas about the sociology of education back to a rough notion of Indian social structure, the following statements can be made: first, inequalities related to caste, class, gender, ethnicity and geography interact and are imperfectly reproduced via education. While this was the case, too, prior to the "Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization" (LPG) program, what differentiates Indian education at large now from the era preceding liberalization is that with the proliferation of private schools, education has become exposed to a double embeddedness: on the one hand, the logic of domination via colonialism is embedded in the larger educational structure; on the other hand, as private education has grown exponentially since the early 1990s, education has become embedded in neo-liberalism. Second, and relatedly, education remains the best avenue for social mobility, and the challenge consists of recognizing this and changing the structures in such a way so as to remove the correlation between social origin and educational achievement. A system increasingly embedded in the market disallows such an action, as do the remnants of an anachronistic, morally tainted system of dominating people, i.e. colonialism. For a critical theoretical approach to education, one that allows people to lead a good life, disembedding colonialism from the education system is an important first step; disembedding the education system from the market is the second step.

5.1.2. Germany

While at the surface, it seems that the sociology of education in Germany has had a simple task in front of it, at least insofar as the old tripartite system correlates to dominant imaginations of German social structure, this is simply not the case. Germany's education system, like India's, has undergone fairly dramatic changes recently, although these changes are of a much different character from India's. Perhaps it is the case that the container model of society, with "objective" categories of social class, made sense because of its correlation to the education system. A novel imagination of society was not necessary, because the education system faithfully reproduced static social positions. This idea, however, obscures two important notions: first, that the education system was based on a functionalist view of

society, a view which has had less to do with humanistic orientations toward individuals and more to do with social control; and second, that the rationalization of the education system, and of society in general, embodied a misunderstanding of how society works, namely complexly. The sociology of education in Germany has for the most part and with difficulty adjusted to this newly "discovered" complexity. Perhaps it has become all too apparent that the meritocratic sorting of small children onto different educational tracks is a bad idea. This impulse to retain a system which can really only be justified along the intellectual lines of the late-19th Century is what is meant by educational conservatism.

Rolf Becker and Wolfgang Lauterbach (2010), for example, in attempting to answer their own question as to how social inequalities brokered via the education system and codified as "educational chances" can persist in spite of increases in opportunities in the education system, come to this clause: "Education is not only a formal resource, realizable in the context of human capital as it relates to the labor market, but is rather a decisive requirement for many different opportunities in life" (13; translated by author). Connecting this idea to Helmut Fend's (2012) "third function" in education (see 4.2.), hegemony – or power or violence – determines these opportunities in life. Critical studies of the reproductive functions of the German education system are relatively few and far between, meaning this notion of hegemony is left untouched in favor of functionalist approaches, often rendered in different terms (rational choice, for example).

The immeasurability of hegemony, power and violence seems to result in a reluctance to take such things seriously in the sociology of education, creating a chasm in the field between those who mobilize Bourdieu's notions of violence, for example, and those who dismiss them as something akin to psychobabble in favor of seemingly innocuous concepts like "attainment" and/or "achievement" (for example, Esser 2016). Such analyses serve the function of naturalizing the status quo (educational conservatism), whereby pupils are sorted into different school forms after the fourth grade, by providing evidence for the idea that lifelong scholastic attainment and achievement can be predicted on the basis of a combination of a teacher's recommendation and the parents' wishes. The idea that some pupils are simply born more intelligent than others is not exactly wrong, but the emphasis on an evaluation of intelligence at such a young age flies in the face of what the scientific community has come to understand about neural development, for example, namely that neural formation

(adolescence) does not end until an individual is well into his or her twenties (Johnson, Blum and Giedd 2009: 216-217).

The impulse to provide social scientific justification for the sorting function of German secondary schools is certainly widespread, but there are other viewpoints which help to round out the extant understandings of the sociology of education in Germany. Comparative studies within Germany – meaning between the *Bundesländer* – depict a more nuanced situation than the "the system works and this is why" approach. Such studies reflect a welcomed degree of reflexivity. Marcel Helbig and Rita Nikolai (2015), for example, compare the evolution of schools within Germany's respective *Bundesländer* since 1949, with an emphasis on differential access to different school forms, observed through the lens of educational inequality. Their thesis, that varying levels of access to educational opportunities and certificates across the *Länder* lead to the unequal distribution of life opportunities (15), is premised on the idea that inequality between *Länder* in this regard can be deduced from each *Land*'s social composition. Their overall analysis, however, is critical, as they underscore time and again the need to ensure "equal educational opportunities", something which can only happen subsequent to the working out of the differing problem areas in each *Land* (16). The book aims to understand differential inequality within Germany in order to overcome it, to allow the school system to provide equality of opportunity for pupils. This equality of opportunity can only be realized if meritocratic sorting is significantly postponed.

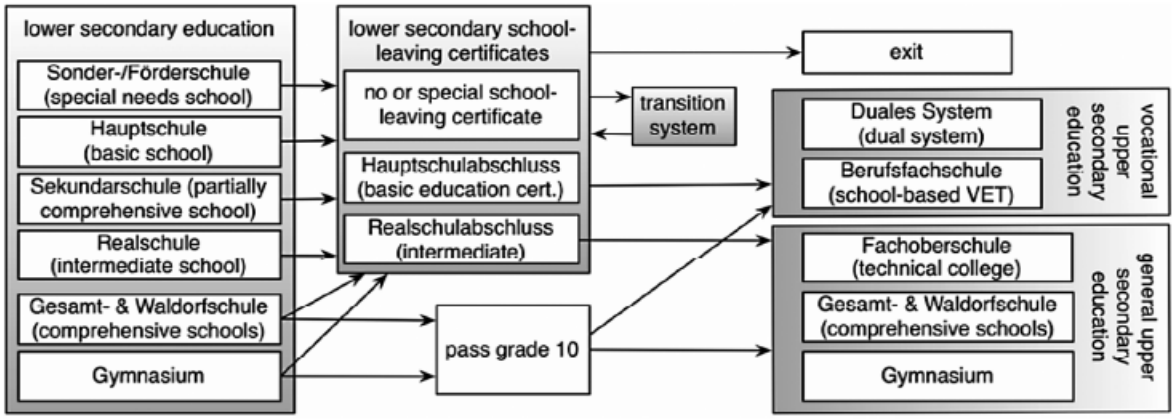
Ullrich Bauer et al (2014) approach the evolution of the German education system from a different perspective, seeing the pervasiveness of neoliberalism (in the guise of individualization) as an imminent threat to social democracy and attempting to analyze changes to secondary schooling as stemming from a redefinition of (objective) class categories and roles. The point of departure is, roughly speaking, the idea that the political-economic regime had changed and ipso facto this change influenced education and the formation of social class. For them, the expansion of the education system has done little to decrease educational inequalities, on the basis that the expansion was coupled with neoliberal strategies, including deregulation and liberalization (13). The causal relationship between changes to political economy, to the social structure and, ultimately, to education is not exactly convincing; more interesting for the purposes here is the correlation between them.

Changes to the political economy in Germany, and the changes they bring to bear on social structure, are not coterminous or really even logically connected with changes to education. This is not to say that education is independent of other economic and political considerations; rather, the interaction between education, economics and politics is farraginous to such a degree that attempting to draw convincing causal connections between the three can only lead to a misunderstanding of how change does and *can* take place. This is to say that meaningful change can only take place via the circumvention or outright abandonment of educational conservatism.

This imagination of the connection between political economy and education tinges to varying extents other approaches to the sociology of education. The Hans Böckler Foundation, an umbrella organization for trade unions, for example, publishes studies about the ways in which education and the world of work comingle to produce the given social structure. The preoccupation with equality of opportunities and education is most certainly a noble one, but the research interest is oriented toward harmonizing the education system with the labor market, a herculean task even absent vital epistemological considerations. In one of the foundation's studies, Solga and Dombrowski (2009) attempt to conceptualize reproduction via education by focusing on correlations between parental occupation and educational attainment levels and the schools their progenies attend (14). This correlation has been established over and over across time and space and need not be described anew here.

More interesting are the mechanisms which arbitrate the connection between "inputs" and "outputs". The "inputs" or determinants identified in the study are three-fold: social class, migration background and gender; the "outputs" or dimensions which lead to inequalities in educational success, are also three-fold: competencies, certificates/diplomas and types of schools visited. Providing the connection between the two are the aforementioned mechanisms which are more or less the social processes determining social inequalities (Solga and Dombrowski 2009: 11). One gets the feeling that such studies view the problems of inequality in education and the reproduction thereof as stemming from a disharmony between the labor market and the education system, a disharmony which is not a permanent condition but is rather a policy problem needing to be solved. This obscures the fact that the reproduction of inequalities is endemic to the system and is not merely a byproduct of the changing world of work, mode of production or mode of accumulation.

As is the case with the sociology of education in India, a focus on transitions between different levels of schooling perhaps paints a more accurate portrait of the ways in which social inequalities are reproduced via education. Because Germany has multiple school forms subsequent to the primary level, transitions are much more difficult to conceptualize, a point which is adequately reflected in this diagram:



(from Schneider and Tieben 2011: 144)

For Schneider and Tieben (2011), the early and formalized sorting function between primary and lower secondary are inconsequential compared to the transition between lowery secondary and upper secondary:

> The transition from lower to upper secondary education thus contributes to the overall social inequality in educational attainment in Germany, over and above the inequality brought about by earlier (from primary to lower secondary education) and later (from upper secondary to tertiary education) transitions (160).

This is the case in spite of the emergence of different alternatives within both upper secondary and lower secondary education. From the diagram above, it seems that at both levels the principle of expansion might have offered more possibilities for those pupils who did not fit into the old tripartite secondary school categories. That this is not the case, that the pressures from sorting have simply shifted upwards (in age and grade) for the pupils without alleviating the problems associated with reproduction, speaks to a larger point about tracking in education. Expanding the tripartite system and allowing for more "parallel" tracks has not solved the problem of reproduction via education; in fact, the inverse is the case, which suggests the notions of tracking and egalitarianism are inimical to each other.

5.1.3. The Sociologies of Education in Germany and India

While social classes in India are emphasized, if at all, as mere representations or illustrations of caste distinctions, these distinctions feature too prominently in discussions of society, thus muting other influences on social structure. The problem in Germany, of course, is the opposite, that divisions in social structure are rendered invisible by and through some kind of confused phenomenon of political correctness. If an outsider spends any amount of time in India, one is sure to notice social divisions and understand these social divisions as essential caste divisions. So goes orientalism. In Germany, on the other hand, one is harder pressed to see social divisions, even though they can be glaringly obvious, because it does not fit the image of a social, democratic, mature society. The lexicon of social division in India is expansive, and a person can very easily get lost in this lexicon.

In Germany, on the other hand, fewer concepts and terms exist, with the most reliable one being *Asi* (for *asozial*), a blunt word parried about in shared spaces which denotes someone lower on the social ladder than the user. Slightly less pejorative is the use of the adjective, *Bildungsfern*, which roughly means uneducated. The discourses surrounding social stratification in Germany and India are much different, and much of this has to do with the terms of description. India has diverse religions, castes, sub-castes, languages, geographies and political and economic dynamics, all of which can be employed to describe social structure and reproduction, even if caste distinctions frame the lion's share of the discussion. Germany is diverse, as well, but sufficient concepts for expressing this diversity do not obtain. Could it be that German society relies to a greater extent on ascription than does Indian society and that ascriptive processes are obscured by, among other processes, a lack of linguistic and social imagination? This seems doubtful for what was formerly known as "the country of poets and philosophers", but comparing the education systems and developments of each country will help answer this question.

India and Germany are much different places with much different institutions, religions, rates of economic growth, population dynamics, geographies, politics, etc., and their social structures are quite obviously distinctive, as well. Quantitatively, India and Germany have similar levels of social inequality, at least as far as the Gini coefficient is

concerned (World Bank 2013). Inequality can be explained away in India along the lines of division mentioned above; in Germany, this is more difficult because the explanations do not seem to be quite so obvious. Attempting to understand social structure through the prism of objective and materialist class categories – upper class, middle class and lower class, for example – is not particularly illuminating and can actually lead to misunderstanding.

An approach which is able to factor in different historical, cultural and social variables, a factoring in which is necessary in heterogeneous societies, can lead to a more reflective depiction of social structure. Summarizing M.N. Srinivas (1916-1999), one of 20th Century India's leading sociologists, RS Khare (1998) contends: "One of Srinivas' common concerns is to explain India by a range of (historically changing) ideas, representations, contexts, experiences, and actions…single, simple essentialist theories, however well crafted, do not adequately explain the lived, diverse and contentious India" (81). Germany and India are obviously much different places facing much different challenges, but it stands to reason that German sociology, because the society which it investigates is becoming much less homogeneous through migration, economic and cultural globalization and visions of a good life, can learn something from Indian sociology, namely that understanding social structure requires a degree of open-ended pluralism. "Single, simple essentialist theories" are equally inadequate for explaining German society.

So much becomes particularly pronounced via the comparison introduced above of the approaches to the sociologies of education in India and Germany. While the notion of access has appropriately received much attention in India, a shift in focus to the strategies and practices of the emergent middle classes draws attention to the problems associated with privatization. Universal access to education – compulsory schooling – has long been a feature of the German education system, but the field struggles with unequal opportunities borne out through what is left of the tripartite system. The diversification of school types has done little to staunch the systematic reproduction of inequalities. The world of work, like the social structure, has become more complex, and a strict analysis of the division of labor is no longer able to faithfully reflect the complexity of the social structure. What is more, one can fairly ask him- or herself if it was ever really appropriate to deduce social structure from the division of labor.

The skeletal depiction here of India's and Germany's respective social structures and (secondary) education systems, combined with the data from the field suggesting that

changes to the education systems have not done much in the way of reducing social inequalities and the reproduction thereof, all but demands a review of educational reforms in each place. As will be seen, both India and Germany started the second half of the 20th Century with imperfect and problematic – or at least problematized – education systems. Subsequent reforms, while nominally effective, have not adequately addressed the proverbial elephant in the room: the persistence of social inequalities and their reproduction, inequalities which can be traced to the persistence of educational conservatism. This leads to fairly sweeping and critical questions, including: are the education systems geared first and foremost to preparing pupils to lead good or socially valued lives? Are they more interested in promoting solidarity-inducing order? Are education systems as such capable of promoting the former at the cost of the latter?

The next subsections (5.2. and 5.3.) will help to frame the answers to these questions and more. The "histories" below are most certainly not exhaustive; they are, however, the products of a significant amount of background research and with that reflect the author's own biases concerning what is important and what can be viewed as less so. It should be noted, as well, that the histories presented below attempt to comprehend changes at the national as opposed to local or regional levels, although some important local and regional measures will be explored.

5.2. Brief History of German and Indian Education Systems until 1945/1947

5.2.1. Indian Education System

The historical record about education up to and including the Mughal period is sparse and is generally broken down in relation to vast expanses of time and imperfect geographical boundaries: Vedic education, Brahmanic education, the Buddhist system of education and, finally, Islamic/Medieval education (Sharma and Sharma 2004; Singh and Nath 2007; Jayapalan 2005; Choudhary 2008). Attempting to identify patterns in education in pre-colonial India is complicated by the fact that, among other difficulties, India represented a web of often-overlapping principalities. Although the histories written about pre-colonial

education and India often employ religious categories, it should be noted that "secular education" was also featured in the different eras, although to differing extents (Choudhary 2008: 51).

From a meta-perspective, the argument that Indian approaches to education have historically been able to fuse with different "cultural" encounters via a process of hybridization and thus lends some insight into the ways in which education has been defined and redefined throughout history is particular interesting. Barnita Bagchi (2014), for example, argues: "Whether through cultural encounters between the Mughal rulers…or through contact with the British rulers and their culture, Indian education showed resilience, hybridity, and the capacity to combine 'indigenous' and 'external' influences in education" (8-9). The danger of such an approach, however, is that it works to obscure colonial and imperial power relations, an argument which becomes even more pronounced when one considers the changes wrought by the British, namely the destruction of village life and village-based educational endeavors. According to Dharampal (2000), and naturally and rightly contradicting the British colonial record, the education system in India in the year 1800 was likely both more expansive than in Britain and of higher quality when it came to methods and teachers. What is more, the duration of schooling in the Indian system was longer. On the whole, with the major exception of girls' education, popular education in India as of the beginning of the 19th Century was in a better state than in England (Dharampal 2000: 20).

The difficulty in putting together a comprehensive historical narrative about the origins and features of village education networks in India is compounded by the fact that, as Dharampal (2000) points out, the history of education in India since roughly the 15th Century was and has been written by foreigners, foreigners who were more often than not integral components in a web of domination (7). In the case of the British, for example, the very concept of mass education as practiced at the village level and its connected indigenous village-to-village networks and even funding schemes were entirely foreign, as evidenced by the fact that within Britain itself, the "considerable learning and scholarship were limited to a very select elite" (8). In 1813, the British launched a series of surveys to attempt to comprehend the layout of indigenous education in India. This, as pointed out by Dharampal, served the function of laying the groundwork for educational reform by the British geared toward the "religious and moral improvement" of their Indian subjects (17).

The point here is that the British, as part of the general demolition of community life in India, obliterated the extant indigenous approach(es) to education. Better yet, as Gandhi (1931) remarked in a speech in London:

> …the British administrators, when they came to India, instead of taking hold of things as they were, began to root them out. They scratched the soil and began to look at the root, and left the root like that, and the beautiful tree perished (Gandhi cited in Dharampal 2000: 6).

Exactly what this "beautiful" tree was replaced with and why will be the topic of the following paragraphs. While it would be useful to simply label the approach to education in India prior to the 19th Century as "mechanical", such a label would be imprudent. The breadth, depth and even funding of the extant, indigenous system are incongruous with such a simplistic label. What is more, suggesting that Indian society prior to colonialism was strictly mechanistic would be a flagrant untruth; in fact, evidence suggests that Indian society was even more "developed" and advanced by many measures – except for some technology, namely that related to seafaring, weapons production and steel – than was British society at the time. In education, the orientation point for educational conservatism is the British colonial system, if only because the British had so effectively disassembled the extant structures.

That indigenous, community based education was wiped out by the British in order that they could introduce their own system – with their own aims – should be obvious enough at this juncture. What came to replace it, however, requires some explanation. According to R.P. Pathak (2012), education during the British period can be broken down into four periods: the period up until 1812, which was characterized by indifference, ostensibly because education did not fit into the East India Company's mandate; 1813-1853, by a freedom of provinces to determine their own educational approaches; 1854-1920, a period of "all-India education policy"; and finally, 1921-1947, "the period of provincial autonomy" (2-3). This is all slightly misleading insofar as it suggests that there was a unified or well-thought-out approach to education in India during colonial rule. This was not the case. The rest of this subsection (5.2.1.) is a brief summation of undertakings aimed at shaping education in India up to 1947.

Lord Macaulay's "Minute" of 1835 laid the groundwork for what eventually would become British policy in India. The main features of his "Minute" are as follows: first, he reified the notion that "literature" referred solely to English literature and explicitly not to Sanskrit or Persian letters; second, he contended that an "Indian scholar" referred to a person who was fluent in the Western literary and philosophical tradition; third, he repudiated the value of "orientalism" (in the 19th Century sense) and argued that it was an obstacle to progress; fourth, he suggested that only the English language could be a worthwhile medium of instruction on account of indigenous languages being "incomplete" (adapted from Sharma and Sharma 2004: 82). It probably is not necessary to say these notions are wrong; what is more relevant to the argument here is that this set the stage for what would eventually become the Crown's "rational" management of its "crown jewel". That this rational management was, in fact, oppression writ large is a different matter.

Between 1836 and 1853, many schools and colleges were built across India with the aim of both providing some basic education to the masses and creating a professional class (medical doctors, lawyers, engineers) in service of British interests. Additionally, vernaculars became officially accepted or at least condoned as the media of instruction in primary schools (Jayapalan 2005: 62). "Wood's Despatch of 1854", however, represented a slight adjustment to Macaulay's "Minute" and thenceforth replaced it as the "unofficial" British educational policy in India. It included provisions for the "diffusion of the arts, science and philosophy of Europe", officially allowed for instruction in the vernacular until the respective pupil's knowledge of English was deemed sufficient to study in the language, and the discrediting of Macaulay's "filtration theory", which posited that only the indigenous elites needed to be educated. Furthermore, it included very modest provisions for female primary education and the creation of institutions of higher learning on the model of London University (Jayapalan 2005: 62-63).

Wood's Despatch effectively framed education in India into the 20th Century and thus created the reference point for educational conservatism. As discussed before, Gandhi "experimented" with his own approaches to education throughout his life. Upon his return to India in 1914, he became particularly critical of the British approach to education during the period of "all-India education" and introduced a scheme for basic education. The criticisms of the British approach to education during this time were manifold, but the most damning criticisms certainly resonate. They include the ideas that the system was fundamentally "un-

Indian", it was biased toward city dwellers, it was English-medium and focused too much on texts and, perhaps most significantly, it was "not in accordance with the needs of a secular democratic country" (Pathak 2012: 76). These discontents were allowed to simmer for decades.

The decade leading up to 1947 was particularly interesting in the context of the cementing of principles in Indian education. Much can be gleaned about the interests and approaches of the British from an official report compiled by John Sargent (1947), the then Educational Adviser to the Government of India and one of the major shapers of Indian educational policy, both before and after independence. His review of educational developments in India was framed by a general clause which appeared quite early in the report: "I have yet to be convinced that India's educational needs or the best ways of satisfying them differ essentially in their wider aspects from those of the rest of the world" (11). He pointed out, too, that the signatories of the report represented a cross section of India, with each of the major communitarian groups having been represented. The findings, of course, should be treated with a healthy dose of skepticism and can rightly be viewed as an exercise in self-congratulatory back patting on the eve of independence. Nonetheless, insofar as diarchy (dual rule) was allowed to at least nominally take hold subsequent to 1919, the structure and ideas behind the education system were faithful representations of the prevailing educational vision, at least to the extent that the colonial report was able to incorporate at least some of the Indian National Congress' critiques.

While the entire report is interesting to the student of history and education, the most relevant portion of it begins with a description of middle schools. At the time, there were two types of middle schools, one English-medium and the other, vernacular. The vernacular middle school, however, was not envisioned as a transition to high school but rather as a "complete unit by itself" (Sargent 1947: 79), but by 1947, as English instruction was offered within vernacular middle schools, this distinction was already beginning to blur; nevertheless, it stubbornly persisted. The design of the English-medium middle schools, however, was such that they were to serve as feeders to high schools. In this period, the distinction that was made between English-medium and vernacular middle schools set the stage for sorting, and this conflict – English versus the vernacular – still plays an important and regrettable role in Indian schools.

With regards to school structure, secondary schools were partitioned into middle and upper, whereby: "the latter stage leads to colleges and universities while the former is designed to be a complete course in itself" (Sargent 1947: 87). While the different provinces had different structures, meaning here different compositions of the high school stage, the division into middle and high was a pan-Indian phenomenon. Although English-medium schools had been championed by missionaries and then officially via Macaulay's "Minute", this trend had ostensibly reversed by 1947. Not only had vernacular-medium instruction become entrenched, but the record suggests that it was being actively encouraged, with some overtly stated official misgivings. Sargent contended: "The change-over from English to the mother tongue has created difficulties due to lack of technical and scientific vocabulary and suitable textbooks" (Sargent 1947: 94). This point is unfortunately similar to the one made in 1835, but Sargent goes on to clarify: "It may, however, be said generally…that the difficulties which were considered as serious in the previous *Quinquennial Review*, 1932-1937, are being gradually overcome" (94).

The history of Indian education prior to independence is perhaps far too broad a topic to be condensed into a few short paragraphs. The point of the above section is to draw attention to the fact that: first, precolonial education in India was comprehensive, although records of this comprehensiveness are few and far between; second, the British were initially highly indifferent to Indian education, although this did not stop them from dismantling extant structures; and third, the system that the British did eventually introduce was geared not toward mass education but was considerably more interested in training the servants of empire. The narrow interests coalesced into a rough structure that would eventually galvanize, expand and persist. The year 1947 represented an opportunity to abandon the norms and ideas lurking behind the British educational policy that had galvanized toward the end of the 19th Century. The rationalization of colonial educational policy – all-India education – included a need to sort potentially useful future administrators from the masses. This logic has been allowed remain embedded within Indian educational policy precisely because it was not rooted out upon independence.

5.2.2. The German Education System

The roots of Germany's present education system can be traced back across centuries or, depending on the point of view, somewhat more artificially across millennia. It would be analytically convenient to refer to modern German education system as commencing in 1871, the year of German unification, the point at which the country became bureaucratically and politically integrated. Although nascent forms of school organization were extant prior to this point, it would be wholly impractical to attempt to comprehensively trace the diverse possible starting points for an analysis. Complicating the matter is the idea that education was not a significant priority subsequent to unification, at least not initially. The unification of Germany in 1871 brought about significant changes in terms of governance, awareness of the polity (i.e. nationalism) and the role of the citizen. Entirely absent from the initial unification program, however, was a codified set of principles for administering primary and secondary education within each of the then twenty-three federal states and three free cities, as exemplified by the fact that the constitution of 1871 omitted articles pertaining to education (Geiβler 2013: 185).

As Ulich (1962) observes, "The division of Germany into many small principalities did not allow for the development of schools and movements that could foster political maturity and independence" (192). Within these small principalities, one can locate the beginnings of the structures which would come to comprise the national education system. For example, the first law mandating universal school attendance for children was minted by the Duchy of Pflaz-Zweibrücken in 1592 This was followed by similar edicts in Strasbourg (1598), Sachsen-Gotha (1642), Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1647), Württemberg (1649), Prussia (1717) and Saxony (1835) (Sehling 2006: 406). In other words, the seeds of compulsory education were planted long ago.

Universal school attendance across Germany, however, was not enshrined as an official law of the land until the publication of the Weimar Constitution in 1919 (Weimar Constitution, Part IV, Article 145). Universal education until the age of eighteen became law via the constitution, although any student of history will be quick to realize that that particular document had but only a truncated shelf-life. Important to note here is that the language of Article 145 does not refer to the right (*Recht*) to go to school; rather it refers explicitly to the obligation (*Pflicht*) to attend school.

The next article in the Weimar Constitution, Article 146, is more pertinent to the contours of the education system as a whole. It is phrased thusly:

> The public school system is to be formed *organically*. The intermediary and secondary school systems are to proceed from a common or comprehensive elementary school. For this progression [from elementary school to intermediary/secondary school], the plurality of occupations in life is decisive. For the acceptance of a child in a particular school, her or his composition and aptitude are decisive, not her or his economic or social status or the religious denomination of the parents (Weimar Constitution, Part IV, Article 146; translated by author; emphasis by author).

The influence of the functionalist imagination of the connection between the school system and the division of labor is made overt via the word organically. This is what is meant by educational conservatism in the German context.

The structure of the modern German school system, the tripartite system, can be traced even further back than the Weimar Constitution, namely to the Prussians and the General School Regulations (*Generallandschulreglement*) of 1763 (see Neugebauer 1985), underscoring the idea that the Weimar constitution can be viewed as a consolidation of earlier approaches. Perhaps recognizing the benefits of specialization in education in the context of emergent industrialization processes, Prussia's minister of justice under Frederick the Great, K.A. von Zedlitz, seemingly dissatisfied with Prussia's approach to education, suggested in 1787 that the structure of education follow a tripartite system: one school for future farmers; one school for (petit) bourgeois townspeople; and a third for academics, scientists and scholars (cited in Michael and Schepp 1993: 74). His ideas, of course, did not come randomly but were likely formed by discussions in the smaller principalities surrounding enlightened school reform (*aufklärerische Schulreform*) in the 1760s and 1770s (Behm, Lohmann and Lohmann 2002: 7). Zedlitz's reason for introducing such a system, however, was fairly straightforward: it would render each member of society useful. His argument was that it made but little sense to offer pupils from different social backgrounds the same education. It would be thoroughly impractical, for example, to raise and train a carpenter or tailor in the same art and manner as a school director or lawyer (Michael and Schepp 1993: 75).

Throughout the 20th Century, outside observers attempted to draw a connection between Prussian militarism (and the expansionist and nationalist tendencies it entailed) and the Prussian and then German education systems. The most bald-faced of these, written by Thomas Alexander (1918), argued that: "…the Prussian citizen is to a large measure enslaved through the medium of his [sic] school; that his [sic] learning, instead of making him his [sic] own master, forges the chain by which he [sic] is held in servitude…" (v). It seems these kinds of polemics find currency even in contemporary accounts of the rise of German militarism. "The militarization of everyday life in the *Kaiserreich* created an emphasis on hierarchy and obedience to authority. German educators became more nationalistic and defensive, as well as, simultaneously, imperialistic and chauvinistic" (Pine 2010: 8). While it could be the case that the structure or even ethos of the German education system contributed at least in small part to the rise of militarism, the historical record suggests little more than a correlation between the school structure and the rise of pathological nationalism. Such attempts to conflate the education system with the seeds of militarism should not at all be taken seriously. That being the case, the functionalism that likely seemed all too rational at the time has had a long lasting yet insidious effect, namely the systematic reproduction of social inequalities via an education system that funnels pupils onto largely predetermined paths.

This parallel between the conception of the tripartite system and its eventual enshrinement in the Weimar Constitution and Durkheim's approach to society and education is key. Fresh off becoming a truly national society, the notion that education, in concert with the rationalized division of labor, could hold society together by creating, or more rationally reflecting, an organic solidarity likely carried with it a great deal of currency. There was probably a strong correlation between the rationalized and harmonized school system and the fact that Germany was able to industrialize and consolidate political and economic power so quickly and effectively. In any event, and without too large a conceptual leap, the German education system up until World War II can accurately be labelled as functionalist. This is not to say that all parts of all schools and educational approaches were functionalist through and through; rather, the system itself was conceived of in line with a professed functional logic, with an idea toward creating a modern society out of diverse principalities.

This short treatment of historical developments in German education is not intended to be exhaustive; rather, it is included here in order to help frame what is to follow, namely

the analysis of late-20th Century reforms. There was, after all, a great deal of differentiation within the tripartite system concerning structure, content and the skills which were to be transferred from teacher to pupil (Holz, Rathgeber, Spenkuch and Zilch 2010: 74-76). The institutionalization of the tripartite system – *Gymnasium*, *Realschule* and *Hauptschule* – unfolded over decades or, depending on the perspective, even centuries, with the historical genesis generally being traced back to the 19th Century. One additional significant event in the history of German secondary education was the passage of the first *Abiturreglement* in 1788, which regulated the school-leaving exams upon which entry into post-secondary education depended. This was further cemented by the second *Abiturreglement* of 1812 and, finally, by the third in 1834, from which point onwards the school-leaving certificate would serve as the most important and oftentimes sole prerequisite for university admissions (van Ackeren, Klemm and Kühn 2015: 15-17). This nascent institutionalization of the school system was coupled with the development of standard curricula, with Wilhelm von Humboldt's neo-humanism most prominently shaping the contours of the *Gymnasium*'s curriculum (17-18).

The Prussians – and eventually the Germans – were attempting to consolidate their power within their territories, and there was a necessity to standardize education and have the standardization be in line with a certain rationalization. This rationalization, however, was of a particular sort and was concerned with function, meaning the functionalist division of educational opportunities reified the functionalist division of labor in society, with the ultimate goal of building a national society. Understanding this, it is interesting to ponder the relationship of the *Gymnasia* to this rationalized, functionalist division of schools and society. The neo-humanist approach which shaped the curricula in *Gymnasia* had as its goal the development of the individual "absent considerations of social and other prevailing necessities" (van Ackeren, Klemm and Kühn 2015: 17; translated by author). This tension between curriculum and structure has yet to be truly resolved. The future "elites" were and have been able to enjoy a rounded education divorced from functionalist considerations, with the idea being that graduates would be furnished with the abilities to effectively administer the state and economy. The pupils of the other two-thirds of the tripartite system were and have been afforded no such luxuries.

Attempts to reform the Prussian and then German education system(s) are as old as the systems themselves. If one attempts to understand the historical development of the

German education system, it is absolutely vital to understand something of *Reformpädagogik*, a concept that defies easy translation and, even more problematically, is often translated into English as "progressive education", a translation which ignores the historical contributions of the field and presupposes a connection to John Dewey, whose ideas emerged much later. The tradition of *Reformpädagogik* in the German-speaking world speaks to an uncomfortable relationship to the educational status quo and, connectedly, to an imagination of how the social world might be improved via education. Developments in secondary education in Germany between the 18th and mid-20th Centuries can be viewed as a dialectical relationship between the tripartite structure as explained above and the currents in *Reformpädagogik*, which were in general skeptical of the tripartite status quo.

5.3. Notes on Critical Junctures

Having earlier provided a rationale for the selection of 1945 and 1947, respectively, as the critical junctures, it is necessary to provide some additional context in order to make the parallels unambiguous. A critical juncture is not a kind of conceptual year zero but is rather an important historical hinge connecting the past to the future. As is the case in the field of macrohistorical analyses, this hinge is explained as: "resulting from structural, antecedent conditions rather than from actions and decisions that occur during the critical juncture itself" (Capoccia and Kelemen 2007: 342). This was certainly the case for both Germany and India during their critical junctures, although the contexts were admittedly much different, with Germany facing prolonged military occupation and India experiencing the exact opposite, namely political independence. Independence, long in the making, unfolded haphazardly; Allied occupation was also and understandably haphazard. This is to say that the character of transition in both places was much different; interesting, however, is that the character of reform was eventually more or less the same. Reforms were slow and imperfect, a result of an orientation toward the assumptions of educational conservatism. Better yet, reforms were framed by the very rationales and structures against which they struggled. At their critical junctures, both countries had the chance to turn their respective gazes forwards, away from the systems which were pathological at their roots. Neither country did so, meaning subsequent reforms have been more about "damage control" than they have been about imagining a better life for pupils.

5.3.1. India, 1947

It would be an enormous understatement to remark that India in 1947 was chaotic; in fact, the historical record reveals that never before had such chaos reigned, at least from the perspective of the movement of populations. Up to ten million people were on the move from east to west and west to east after the announcement of the poorly conceived, official boundaries of India and Pakistan, an affair which deserves the tremendous scrutiny it has been accorded (Keay 2000: 507-508). Independence and partition have both been thoroughly documented elsewhere, but it is very easy to become desensitized to the facts and figures embedded in historical descriptions. Throughout the past decade, it seems the most "successful" history books do not offer much in terms of new perspectives; rather, their success seems to be dependent on the extent to which they can adjust upwardly the body counts connected to various catastrophes (wars, famines, "natural disasters", etc.). The horrors of communal violence and the chaos surrounding the perhaps-foreseeable-yet-seemingly-unforeseen events cannot be faithfully relayed by facts and figures.

The British divestment of its colonial holdings in India was arguably as ignominious as any of its other debacles (famines, massacres, etc.) on the subcontinent. The trauma of colonialism, coupled with the poorly planned and executed decolonization process, did not leave India completely rudderless in late 1947. The concept of Swaraj, after all, did not come out of the blue shortly before independence but can rather be viewed as an historical, political and even institutional rallying point, one which became progressively more manifest, with obvious fits and starts, before being realized in 1947. India, like Pakistan, already had structures of governance in place. What is more, in Gandhi, Nehru, Maulana Azad, Rabindranath Tagore and B.R. Ambedkar, among others, it had some of the 20th Century's best political and social minds at its disposal. These leaders, however, could do little to prevent the chaos of partition.

While it would be impossible to reconstruct the fears, hopes and feelings that obtained during the second half of 1947, literature can aid in the process of understanding, something which detached historical accounts are thoroughly incapable of doing. In the case of partition, Khushwant Singh's (2009) novel, *Train to Pakistan*, unpacks the complex relations and

ambiguities of communal identity and village life, the politics of independence and the arbitrariness and brutality of violence during the months after partition. Originally published in 1956, the novel is by no means a social scientific work; that being said, it does capture the chaos of the time and assists in framing the political decisions, or lack thereof, made concerning education in the Republic. Unfortunately, other issues were deemed more pressing than was educational policy.

Independence can rightly be viewed as a complex, challenging and chaotic time, and these adjectives can be extended to Congress'[43] attempts to consolidate power and govern, as well. Kaviraj (2002) lays out the fundamental challenge thusly: "Indian nationalism needed a form of identity and ideology that was based on inclusivist and universal unifying principles, instead of the segmentation of traditional society" (151). The replication approach, which must have been appealing for those more inclined to the outright modernization of Indian society via the faithful copying of the pattern laid out by the industrial West, was in general unappealing to Indian nationalists, because adherence to this replication approach would have potentially resulted in the Balkanization of India along linguistic, religious and ethnic lines. What is more, while the USSR might have offered a kind of model for federation and for incorporating various groups, this would have required an all-powerful central government, something which would not have jived with the democratic spirit of the nascent republic.

It is particularly telling that Gandhi, Tagore and Nehru, three of the most significant Indian nationalists, abhorred the replication approach. Instead, and to varying degrees, each argued in favor of improvisation (Kaviraj 2002: 152-153). The link between this improvisation, which entails responding to particularities of political construction on an ad hoc (i.e. not overtly ideological) basis, and reflexivity appears self-evident, at least insofar as reflexivity/adaptability forms a basis for action. This approach allowed for the adoption of a unique, plural manifestation of Indian nationalism, the novelty of which appears more pronounced, for example, when compared to the case of Pakistan (153).

[43] Congress will henceforth be used to refer to the political party, the Indian National Congress.

This plural, unique form of Indian nationalism, however, prevented the emergence of a strong consensus about education. Congress needed to consolidate power in line with a broad vision of how the country was to be, and there was a consensus within the party that the state should first and foremost be secular and independent. This was the glue which held and theretofore had held Congress together. When it came to visions of education, however, there were myriad ideas regarding which way was the right way. The notion that Gandhi was in favor of a new approach to education and development has been explored already. Gandhi's ideas about education provide a stark contrast to those of Nehru, whose focus on modernizing and developing the "commanding heights" seemingly trumped considerations related to the specifics of an indigenous educational policy. J.L. Raina (1993) contends:

> Education was thus looked upon by [Nehru] as something much more than mastering this or that kind of knowledge or acquiring competence or proficiency in any particular field of education or research; it was conceived of as a process which trains people to understand their environment so as to establish a desired social order (226).

This training of "people to understand their environment" to create a more advantageous social order is no foreign concept to any student of reform or development policy.[44]

Raina goes on to further elucidate Nehru's big-picture approach to education, a depiction which will later be somewhat muddled by what can be referred to as "the facts on the ground": "…to perform the task of shaping an environment which is in tune with the demands of their time, Nehru stressed two basic qualities which education should aim at: building 'strength of character' and 'the right out-look on life'" (226). To him, it seems education was central to a modified liberal paradigm by and through which India would become a successful and modern state upon independence. It was not without reservations,

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[44] What is striking, however, is the relationship between Raina's (1993) interpretation of Nehruvian educational policy and Bruce Braun's (2000) Foucaultian analysis of late-Victorian Canadian educational policy. Understanding the environment was a literal task in Braun's depiction, but both approaches relied upon an initial understanding which in turn needed to be operationalized in order to achieve the desired social and economic ends. Among other things, this suggests that Nehru was a shrewd operator and had a deep and instrumental understanding of the relationship between knowledge and power or, at the very least, "the imbrication of men [sic] and things" (Foucault 1991: 93).

however, that Nehru adopted wholesale the institutional structure left in place by the erstwhile colonial power. Raina (1993) contends:

> Nehru knew that in the India of his day the pattern of education had been devised by the Britishers as a part of their comprehensively thought-out colonial policy, in which they wanted the system to train Indians for administering their empire. This had made it very limited in its objectives and given it an unhealthy rigidity (225).

This "unhealthy rigidity" would persist. When it came to school education, improvisation regrettably meant adhering to the path of least resistance, which in turn meant adhering to the British structures, which in turn persisted as the framework by and through which reforms would unfold.

While it turns out that the Nehruvian educational legacy was represented by a confounding mix of liberalism and conservatism (or anti-progressivism), all this should come as no surprise to anybody in tune with his pre-independence oeuvre. While this topic will be discussed in depth during the discussion of post-secondary education in the next chapter, in his own words, Nehru (2004) stated unequivocally that: "The three fundamental requirements of India, if she is to develop industrially and otherwise, are a heavy engineering industry, scientific research institutes, and electric power" (452). This committed focus on the so-called commanding heights left little room for humanistic, egalitarian commitments to education, commitments which to his mind probably would have sapped resources and energy from the overall goal of turning post-independence India into a regional and global power.

Contrasting the depictions of Nehru's approach to policy mentioned above with those of his first education minister, Maulana Azad, it becomes clear that there was at least a partial disconnect in their ideas. In a speech delivered on February 18, 1947, Azad commented:

> A truly liberal and humanitarian education may transform the outlook of the people and set it on the path of progress and prosperity, while an ill-conceived or unscientific system might destroy all the hopes which have been cherished by generations of pioneers in the cause of national struggle (Azad 1956: 1).

The specifics of what exactly Azad meant by "liberal" and "humanitarian" are unclear. India's approach to education at the time was perhaps liberal, given a narrow understanding of the term, but was not exactly humanitarian. While lip-service was paid to flowering educational concepts, the realities of post-independence India and the ambitions of the government combined to produce an environment in which impulses to reform education from the ground up were sacrificed in favor of the commanding heights.

This is and was not unique to India. Roughly similar circumstances obtained in postwar Germany, and the argument here is that similar sacrifices were made. The sacrifices which were made, however efficient they may have seemed at the time, resulted in too strong a dissonance between the highly problematic institutional antecedents and the hope to construct new societies from the rubble of war and colonialism. In India, it seems, the modernizers won, especially in the educational realm, although the fact that the modernizers won ostensibly led to a kind of conservative approach to education, meaning the system introduced by the British was simply, with some exceptions, adopted and extended. In all likelihood, the chaos of independence and partition precluded more abrupt changes, as the situation demanded improvisation and flexibility. The reluctance to make significant changes in other realms was revealed in Congress' inability to distance itself, for example, from the Government of India Act of 1935. This reluctance in the face of change, however, has hampered the extension of meaningful and broad educational endeavors mightily.

5.3.2. Germany, 1945

Germany's capitulation in April 1945 ushered in a necessarily painful and uncertain series of transformations, as well, a history which has been parsed from nearly every conceivable angle. Millions of people began to move into and out of the country, pinned between the Red Army in the east and the rest of the Allied forces in the west. While Indian and Pakistani independence were officially feted affairs, rife with triumphalism, the time subsequent to Germany's capitulation was quite obviously not a particularly optimistic one. What is more, the end of totalitarianism in the form of National Socialism created a power vacuum, one which was filled more or less immediately by the Allied powers. A major component of the denazification program, which was executed with varying degrees of vigor, depending on the

given occupation power, was the dismissal of former Nazis from their positions in the realm of education. As would quickly become apparent to the occupiers, a "sufficient" denazification of education would necessarily leave schools without teachers, principals and administrators. As public service was politicized under the Third Reich, meaning careers depended on party membership or at the very least party sympathy, and education was a public good, it stood to reason that politically suspect individuals, at least in the eyes of the occupiers, peopled the most influential positions at schools (Bessel 2009: 193).

While denazification was a goal shared by all of the occupation powers, total denazification along the lines laid out at the Yalta Conference and extended to education was wholly unrealistic.[45] Arguably, none of the occupation powers had at their disposal the economic resources and more importantly personnel to oversee a complete change in the education systems which they were to administer, although the Soviets and Americans certainly did try. Denazification, however, did not lend itself to the administration of more pressing tasks, namely the rebuilding of infrastructure and institutions. Denazification as a primary goal was "successful", at least insofar as: "The turnover of personnel was far greater in 1945 than when Hitler took power in 1933…and amounted to a major rupture in the history and traditions of the German civil service" (Bessel 2009: 195).

This mandated turnover was particularly pronounced in education, with sixty-five percent of all primary school teachers in the American occupation zone being dismissed subsequent to political "evaluation". Compounding the problem was the fact that those who were not dismissed were "nearing retirement age". This purge of the education system, coupled with the material destruction of schools via the Allies' intensive bombing campaign which focused on civilian populations in urban areas in hopes of forcing capitulation, made the situation all the more precarious. Bessel (2009) contends:

> Everywhere, acceptable new textbooks had to be acquired, and new teachers had to be found to replace the many dismissed for political reasons. Despite the widespread

[45] For example, in a joint statement crafted by Franklin Roosevelt, Joseph Stalin and Winston Churchill, the Allies outlined their commitment to denazification thusly: "We are determined to…remove all Nazis and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people" (Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin 1945).

> concerns voiced about adolescents running out of control, the schools would not reopen until the autumn of 1945 (195).

With that in mind, an analysis of the American approach to education in its occupation zone(s) reveals much about the complicated relationship between ideology or idealism, priorities and pragmatism. In education, the Americans were at least rhetorically committed to denazification and school reform, with the ideas of R.T. (Thomas) Alexander, an educationalist from Columbia Teachers College who was quoted above, providing the theoretical impetus behind critiques of the German system and the ideas for reform along the lines of fully integrated primary and secondary education, divorced from political considerations and, more ambiguously, the power of the churches (Tent 1982: 8). These ideas were handed down to American civilian administrators working within the structures of the American army. It does not require too much imagination to conceptualize the major problem associated with implementation, namely a lack of resources. As Tent (1982) concludes, "From the first, control of education was a responsibility that fitted only imperfectly into military-government operations. It attracted little attention and had the lowest of priorities" (9). This is entirely unsurprising and is indicative of a larger social-historical problem, namely that everyone speaks of the importance of education, but when it comes to actually supporting it, nobody wants to be left holding the proverbial bag.

In spite of the denazification measures and their extension to education, there was a pronounced tension between, for example, how the American administration understood the connection between democracy and education and how German leaders viewed school structure and success. This was particularly evident in Bavaria, where local officials displayed a conspicuous unwillingness to reform their school system. Hansjörg Gehring (1997) frames the problem thusly:

> What in the eyes of the Germans subsequently turned into a problem under international law, turned into a moral dilemma for the Americans: was it acceptable for an occupying power which claims to be democratic in character to force its own educational structure on a foreign country? (251).

The denazification of the teaching corps in the American zone unfolded without significant political problems. Although many schools remained closed during the second half of 1945, they were able to soon reopen with mainly new teaching staff. The process of finding

politically unsullied educators was difficult and drawn out, with some positions remaining open for longer than two years (Bugenstab 1970: 71). Reforming the education system and superimposing upon it a facsimile of the American structure, however, was abandoned as a goal, partly due to understandable local intransigence and partly to logistical problems. The effectiveness of the tripartite system was never seriously questioned; the problem as seen by commentators was related to the perceived incompatibility of the tripartite system's socialization processes and liberal democracy, a problem which still obtains on the "evidence" not of aptitudes related to understanding politics but rather of a perceived lack of sympathy for, as an example, something as innocuous as "checks and balances" (for example, Gehring 1997: 259).

In the aftermath of World War II, the United States came to view itself as the model democracy and society, and it professed an interest in spreading its democratic vision to postwar Germany, including its approach to secondary education, based on the historically experienced link between democracy and education. A simple superimposition was not possible. The hysterical calls to reform the German education system, based on the spurious yet widespread belief that there was a direct causal link between the German education system and militarism (the "German problem"), played a prominent role in shaping the discourse surrounding reform. The tripartite system was, with some notable exceptions, allowed to flourish in what became the Federal Republic, and based on the importance of the *Gymnasium* as a cultural institution in Germany, this makes a great deal of sense. In fact, one is hard pressed to imagine a more revered and even feared institution within contemporary Germany than the *Gymnasium.*[46] The Americans, it seemed, were all too aware of their failures to reform the education system, particularly against the backdrop of the aforementioned perception of a causal relationship between the German system and militarism. George Ziemer (1946), an American educator who had spent time with the Office of War Information during the war, argued: "In the re-education of the German youth, in the redemption of the beaten, warped and prostituted German mind, the American occupation is meeting its gravest challenge and, thus far, its most tragic failure" (726).

[46] According to some accounts, this reverence for the *Gymnasium* seems to be dissipating, at least on the evidence that public debates about the desirability of the school form are increasing in frequency and intensity (*tageszeitung* May 17/18, 2014).

The feeling that the American Military Government failed in its attempts to reform the German education system was likely fueled by the anxiety resulting from propaganda campaigns during the war that suggested a strong link between education and the rise of nazism. The most notorious of these was the short animated film, *Education for Death*, a Disney production from 1943. The film focuses on the link between education, nazism, obedience, war and death in Germany. The massive and documented disappointment of the American Military Government in itself for not being able to thoroughly reform the education system along American lines is likely a reflection of the Americans at the time believing their own propaganda. It did, after all, come from Walt Disney.

More interesting for the present purposes is the forced emergence of an approach to secondary schooling which was comprehensive and, so it was hoped at the time, fundamentally more democratic. Such was one of the goals of the Western Allies, but it faced a great deal of obstruction from German educators, namely those associated with the *Gymnasien* (Bugenstab 1970: 93). In any event, the emergence of comprehensive secondary schools (*Gesamtschulen*) in Germany subsequent to World War II has largely been credited to the push to reform wholesale the German education system after the war. The argument that these comprehensive schools were American imports, however, is specious insofar as it thoroughly ignores the diverse historical contributions of *Reformpädagogik*. The belief that the only way to successfully reform German education was through the broad adoption of comprehensive schools was widespread in the occupation administration until roughly 1955, at which point this goal was ostensibly abandoned. The then-President of Harvard, James B. Conant, a firm believer in institutional reform along egalitarian lines, was even appointed U.S. High Commissioner in 1952 in hopes of convincing the Germans to introduce broader reforms. Viewing the tripartite system as inimical to social and liberal democracy, Conant was strongly in favor of comprehensive schools (Biebel 1982: 283-285). His efforts to convince his German colleagues of the same, however, were unsuccessful. Adherence to the tripartite system – educational conservatism – can be interpreted as a strategy for maintaining cultural sovereignty.

5.3.3. Conclusion

India and Germany were facing problems of completely different magnitudes. Both were attempting to move on from colonialism and totalitarianism, respectively, and this necessarily required a framing of priorities in such a way that the responses to the most pressing issues were defined while the responses to the rest, like education, were largely improvised. India was too far removed from its indigenous education methods, which the British had more or less annihilated through various measures throughout the years, and the most prudent approach at the time was to simply adopt the system the British had implemented. That matters of a non-educational character were more pressing should be fairly obvious. This is a recurrent theme in educational reform. In Germany, there was no obliteration of indigenous education. Rather, the roots of the system were intimately tied up with the notion of German nationhood. Attempts to reconstruct the Federal Republic's system from without were unsuccessful.

The marginal conditions for each country were only tangentially similar, but the outcomes were more so. In the end, and in spite of myriad misgivings related to the very nature of each respective system, the systems as such were allowed to persist. The improvised decisions to not pursue greater reforms to the school systems perpetuated an educational structure which would prove ill-equipped to face important challenges. The cultural arbitraries which framed the approaches to secondary education were neither challenged nor overcome. Secondary education has been able to retain its ascriptive qualities. Chapter 6 represents an evaluation of measures taken to reform secondary education in India and Germany in terms of the effect they have had on the respective cultural arbitraries.

6. REFORMS SINCE 1947/1945

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Failing to do so, guiding principles based on highly problematic and even oppressive conceptions of the link between education and society became re-entrenched in both places. Subsequent reforms, no matter how well-meaning, have not moved beyond immediate concerns, namely the requirements of the division of labor in society.

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That both Germany and India are federal systems means the respective central governments have a constitutional responsibility to allow a modicum of independence to elected parties and politicians at the state, regional and local levels. Tracing the roots of federalism in both Germany and India makes for fascinating reading, but a review at this point would be superfluous to the task at hand. The general consensus regarding federalism in both places is that it can be traced back to overlapping principalities, features which obtained until German unification in 1871 and, somewhat more fuzzily, at the very least to certain points during the long reign of the Mughal Empire, respectively. In spite of the long traditions of nominal federalism, however, central governments have made great strides since 1945/1947 to shape and reshape the education systems in each country, though not through singularly powerful central institutions. The following will attempt to encapsulate the endeavors to, as a matter of speaking, counter "big problems with big solutions". This will unfold against the backdrop of the understanding that reforms often give birth to unintended consequences, and these will be factored in to the analysis of the efficacy of reforms in dealing with the reproduction of social inequalities via education.

The organization of this subsection will be more faithfully chronological. To the extent that national reforms in both places have been somewhat sparse, a decade-by-decade comparison, starting with the 1950s and ending with the 2000s, will perhaps help to explain why reforms did not take place in the event of an absence of largescale reforms in a given decade. Notes about important currents in societies, cultures, politics and/or the economies of each country will contribute to an understanding of the reforms (or lack thereof) in each decade. It will emerge that in spite of attempts to do so, the cultural arbitraries of each system were not changed or challenged, meaning secondary education has retained its ascriptive qualities, and its reproductive functions have remained intact.

6.1. The 1950s

In the Federal Republic of Germany, attempts at denazification of the education system, at least in the American zone, resulted initially in the widespread dismissal of educators and half-hearted attempts to relaxed school hierarchies as part of an attempt to "demilitarize" the German school system and inculcate so-called democratic values. Three important things, however, were missing and left the project incomplete: political will, funding and expertise. The conflation of the tripartite system with militarism, as discussed above, was almost certainly exaggerated. The education system of the Federal Republic was not changed directly from the outside, a fact that was all but guaranteed via the Article 30 of the *Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany), which effectively reserved such powers for the individual *Länder*. Article 7, however, affords the central government some supervisory power: "The entire school system shall be under the supervision of the state" (*Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany*, Article 7). It is in this supervisory capacity that attempts were made in the 1950s to consolidate and standardize the *Länder*'s respective education systems.

Discussions of Germany in the 1950s generally focus on the *Wirtschaftswunder* ("economic miracle"). While most accounts focus on the role of the Marshall Plan in rebuilding the country's capital stocks, less fantastical analyses reveal that the vision of Ludwig Erhard's reforms were more decisive in bringing about the harmonization of technology, a highly skilled labor force and capital stock (Moeller 2001: 100). The West

German economy started to thrive, workers had more purchasing power and the country was able to rebuild itself without having to look back too much at the destruction of World War II. The confidence of and in the central government, led by seemingly unsullied and competent individuals in Konrad Adenauer and Erhard, ostensibly began to grow. Normal workers brought home more of their paychecks, productivity increased and people had many reasons to find hope in looking to the future. Further consolidating the feeling of unblemished accomplishment on behalf of the nation-state was West Germany's victory at the 1954 World Cup in soccer. For students of postwar German culture, this event is imbued with perhaps too much significance; it was, however, symbolically significant in that it once again brought individuals from different *Länder*, occupation zones and political allegiances under the tricolor banner.

The 1950s in Germany were, after all, morally ambiguous times, and the triumph of economic recovery paired with the symbolic sporting triumph under the Federal Republic's flag likely only increased this ambiguity. Günter Grass' famous 1959 novel, *The Tin Drum*, speaks to the prevailing uncertainties in postwar German society, moral uncertainties which would eventually plague the author himself when it came to light that he, the so-called moral voice of the Federal Republic, had himself been a member of the *Schutzstaffel* (SS). The past was too painful, incriminating and/or absurd to reflect on. Because everyone was guilty, the only viable perspective was a forward-looking one, at least in some realms of public life. The book's narrator tells his tale from the confines of a mental hospital in Düsseldorf in the early 1950s, which provides a handy transition to the first major agreement pertaining to education in the Federal Republic, the *Düsseldorfer Abkommen* (Düsseldorf Agreement) of 1955.

An explanation of the Düsseldorf Agreement of 1955 makes sense only within the context of the *Kultusministerkonferenz* (the KMK[47], roughly translated as the conference of education ministers), a body which was formed in 1948 and was composed of education ministers from each *Land*. It was well understood from the beginning, however, that the KMK's "agreements" were non-binding and that they represented but a first step in

[47] The acronym KMK will henceforth be employed in lieu of *Kultusministerkonferenz* and conference of education ministers.

lawmaking in the field of education (Schultz-Hardt and Fränz 1998). While the body in and of itself did not have the power to change federal law, its members were decision makers at the level of the *Länder*, meaning agreements were not entirely toothless. It is within the context of this idea – that the Basic Law proscribed too much federal involvement in education but that national standardization was nonetheless important – that the KMK's institutional reason for being was realized. What is more, the aforementioned differential policies of the occupiers in the Federal Republic (American-British-French) resulted in a somewhat fractured approach to policy, and the KMK sought to repair this fracture (Schultz-Hardt and Fränz 1998).

The Düsseldorf Agreement of 1955 attempted to reintroduce a national framework for the school system. This led to the nominal standardization of: "the beginning of the school year, duration of holidays and timeframe for summer breaks, designations, organizational forms and school types for secondary schools and *Gymnasia*, recognition of exams, grade-scales and the regulation of transitions from one school type to another" (Schultz-Hardt and Fränz 1998; translated by author). The Agreement did not seek to introduce alternative school forms; rather, the inverse was the case, as the goal was the reinforcement of the tripartite system during a time of great social uncertainty. The Agreement should be viewed as an attempt to reintroduce a national school system and can therefore be understood as an effort to recentralize the old tenets of the national system as introduced in the 19th Century and later enshrined in the Weimar Constitution. In a sense, it can be viewed as a rebuke to the cultural imperialism of the Americans, the antipathy of the French and the indifference of the British.

Implicit in the Agreement is the idea that the old system was good and as such was worthy of re-standardization across the Federal Republic. According to the KMK's official history, once the Agreement came into effect on April 1, 1957, public criticisms of the chaos of the Federal Republic's school system subsided (Schultz-Hardt and Fränz 1998). The quasi-successful attempt at standardization was a temporary triumph for the more conservative elements in the field, a triumph that would become more entrenched with each passing decade. The tripartite system, which had worked so well for so long (except, of course, when it had not), received a renewed, quasi-official breath of life. Perhaps policymakers found comfort in the idea that the chaotic present and unknowable future could be navigated by the tried and true means for achieving social control: the good old tripartite system led by conservative teachers and administrators. The violence/oppression meted out to pupils via

this system seemingly did not enter into the conversation, handcuffing future attempts at reform.

It is perhaps difficult to understand the overall tenor of the 1950s in Germany without having experienced it firsthand. The Allies' policy of forcing total capitulation toward the end of World War II meant that both infrastructure and human capital were pushed to the breaking point. The Federal Republic was able to turn things around in relatively short order, giving the population plenty of reasons to look forward instead of back. This, curiously enough, did not extend to the realm of education, as standardization, however nominal, dampened broader reform efforts. The needs for efficacy, delivered via a strongly functionalist system, apparently outweighed other concerns. The struggle between standardization and humanistic experimentation in the school system has been a standard feature in the history of postwar German education. Notions of equality, egalitarianism and humanism, for example, do not feature prominently in the Düsseldorf Agreement, but this is not to say that those topics were off the Federal Republic's proverbial radar at the time. The logic of school sorting was certainly not turned on its head during this time; rather, this logic was reinforced with only nominal debate. In the end, education and its myriad tools were not progressively operationalized to shape society. Instead, conservative elements in society were once again allowed to bend educational policy to their will, meaning the question of whether or not education *should* reproduce social structure and position was not posed. This question would unfortunately remain unposed until the 1970s.

The 1950s began in India on a note of triumph. This very long note, *The Constitution of India*, was written under the stewardship of Ambedkar and was ratified between November 1949 and January 1950. The document in its entirety provides insight into the legal bases for an independent India. Ambedkar possessed, after all, arguably one of the sharpest legal minds of the 20th Century, and his own struggles against untouchability are reflected to some extent in the Constitution. Being a constitution, meaning being open to amendment, it is a so-called living document, and its educational provisions represent a tension between hard laws of the land and an idealized framework for the unfolding of an independent and just society and polity. The dissonance between the flowering language of the laws and the "facts on the ground" represent the aforementioned and problematized symbolic liberalism, and the pathology of this symbolic liberalism manifests itself in educational conservatism. This dissonance is certainly not unique to Indian politics and society. As mentioned before,

independence in India was somewhat paradoxically optimistic, violent and thoroughly chaotic, and the Constitution can rightly be viewed as an attempt to impose some kind of nominal order during a time of great political, social and even spiritual upheaval.

The constitutional provisions as related to education, however, left much to be desired, reflecting an ideological tension, on the one hand, between Congress leaders when it came to education, and a pragmatic tension, on the other, when it came to laws and their actual implementation. The first articles dealing explicitly with education, namely Articles 29(2) and 30, were not purely about education; rather, they were more concerned with equal access and religious freedom, respectively, in the realm of education. The text of Article 29(2), for example, is phrased thusly: "No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them" (Aggrawala and Aiyar 1950: 49). This article, noble in spirit, lacked a sufficient enforcement mechanism; nevertheless, it reflected a desire to overcome discrimination. The tenor of Article 30 is similar, as it enshrines the rights of minority religious/linguistic groups to establish their own educational institutions (49-50). Together, these articles represent two rough ideas: equality of opportunity in education (although framed in the negative) and a distinct, positive approach to secularism in education.

These articles, however, make little sense in and of themselves and only become meaningful, especially in the case of Article 29(2), in the context of Article 45, a provisional article that, as will be seen, was not formally realized until decades later. The text in Article 45 is as follows: "The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years" (Aggrawala and Aiyar 1950: 63). The idea of free and compulsory education was cherished, yet its implementation was simply impracticable at the time. One could argue, however, that the articles related to anti-discrimination and secularism, while more ethereal, were in the end equally impracticable. Article 46 is similar in tenor to Articles 29(2) and 30:

> The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation (63).

Articles 46, 29(2) and 30, however, are essentially meaningless absent the realization of Article 45, a problem which long dogged educational endeavors in India. The indefinite postponement of Article 45, while arguably caused by a paucity of funds, is indicative of a larger problem: the inherent conservatism of the status quo or the inertia of conservatism.

Jawaharlal Nehru was and has been criticized for a perceived neglect on his part concerning all matters related to primary and secondary education. Judith M. Brown (1999), for example, argues: "…significant were the failures in educational policy and provision which increased the divisions between those who could take advantage of new opportunities and those who could not" (183). While criticisms like these are no doubt valid, they ignore what might be referred to as Nehru's larger social/educational vision. Like Germany in the 1950s, India's capital stocks were low; unlike Germany, however, and due to centuries of neglect, India did not possess a highly skilled, technical workforce, meaning the basis for an economic miracle did not exist in India at the time. While Nehru's outlook on education could cautiously be referred to as humanistic (for example, see Raina 1993), the paucity of capital to invest in education posed a problem. As a student of development, democracy and industrialization, Nehru likely realized the importance of both prosperity and equality and, what is more, saw the former as a path to the latter, as evinced by his focus on the so-called commanding heights (see Nehru 2004).

If it is true that he neglected primary and secondary education, the opposite is true of his approach to post-secondary education. He and the Congress initiated the establishment of a great number of tertiary educational institutes, namely the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, the Indian Institutes of Management and Indian Institutes of Technology (Chung 2008: 36). The sacrificing of educational activism or idealism from on high in the primary and secondary sectors was probably viewed as a kind of necessary evil. This conservative position, borne of neglect, unfortunately framed the trajectories of future reform measures.

According to Sunil Khilnani (2007), an establishment academic and occasional columnist, India in the 1950s was marked by three significant accomplishments: first, the strengthening of the state; second, the creation of important institutions (including those related to atomic energy, planning and the other commanding heights); and relative peace. Even more significant are the missed opportunities of the 1950s. With regards to Nehruvian educational policy, Khilnani contends: "The 1950s set a long pattern for education-rhetorical attention, practical neglect. And even that attention was fitful. Nehru's huge prime ministerial

correspondence contains astonishingly little sustained discussion of primary education" (Khilnani 2007). Nehru's gamble seemed to have been that the social and economic gains brought about by the fostering of technical expertise and industrialization would in the long run mitigate his neglect of mass education and problems related to preliteracy. That the provision of mass education was so long in the making suggests that his gamble did not pay off, although from the perspective of human capital – India still exports a great deal of it, after all – the situation appears much rosier. In the end, though, the sacrifice of universal education for technical expertise does not a healthy society, much less democracy, make. In this way, Nehru's approach to education was not all that far removed from the logic of Macaulay's filtration theory, a theory which by the 1950s should have been totally discredited. That it persisted and was masqueraded around as modernizing measures necessary for building a new industrial society does not blunt its effects on the reproduction of social inequality.

Similar to the situation in the Federal Republic, educational policy largely fell under the purview of the individual provinces, leading to similar difficulties when it came to steering educational policy – secondary educational policy in particular – from above. The Secondary Education Commission of 1952 attempted to lay the groundwork for a standard approach to education across the country. The Commission's report, the *Mudaliar Commission Report*, like the Düsseldorf Agreement, was non-binding; nevertheless, it provides insight into the central government's vision for secondary education. Most revealing, perhaps, is the Commission's reflexivity, as exemplified in passages from the report's introduction which suggest that although the central government was aware that decision making powers regarding secondary education resided with the provinces alone, the central government's role in "maintaining proper standards in higher education" gave it an acute interest in the: "careful consideration…to the level of efficiency attained at the secondary stage" (*Mudaliar Commission Report* 1953: 4-5). Just like Article 45, however, the impact of the Commission's findings would be long in realization.

As mentioned before, the main problem was not simply that Nehru and Congress neglected much of the population when devising their educational policies; rather, equally if not more problematic was the hope that society would, via its constitutional provisions related to education, become more egalitarian in spite of an illiberal education system carried over from the British. What is more, the central government was inhibited by its own

constitution from playing a more prominent role in the shaping of secondary education in India. One can always argue that Nehru and Congress had bigger fish to fry; regrettably, a huge portion of the population became ill by being fed a steady diet of the small, then-uncooked fish.

In both India and Germany, the 1950s can be understood as a decade in which the educational-cultural arbitraries were reconsolidated. Educational conservatism might very well have seemed like the only option. India had been cut off from its educational roots via colonialism, and the tepid extension of British educational principles probably seemed a better option than trying to revive a system driven into extinction scores of years prior. Implicit in this line of thinking, of course, is the idea that the replication approach to modernization might have been viewed as the only viable option. In Germany, socially conservative elements won out, which should not be entirely surprising given the naïve (and underfunded) presumptions of the American occupiers. The triumph of the economic miracle likely served as proof-positive that the system was, in fact, the best imaginable one.

6.2. The 1960s

Germany in the 1960s, at least until 1968, was marked by an economically minded consolidation of the gains of the economic miracle, although the torrid growth rates were reined in by, among other things, a general shortage of human capital, meaning the labor pool was not expansive enough to meet the demands of the market. Thus, "hiring agreements" (*Anwerbeankommen*) were signed between the Federal Republic and nine different states between 1955 and 1968. The idea behind the agreements was that guest workers would come alone (meaning without family members), stay for an initial period of two years and then return to their respective countries of origin. Often overlooked is the fact that this strategy was largely, at least from the perspective of the Federal Republic, a success, as roughly two-thirds of guest workers returned to their countries of origin upon the termination of their employment contracts in Germany (Street and Hansen 2015: 182).

It was perhaps not entirely unforeseeable that some proportion of the guest workers would stay. The generalized logic of economic migration, after all, lends itself to such a trend.

A look at employment statistics until 1973, while cooling off a bit in 1967, suggests a state of near full employment (Hinrichs and Giebel-Felten 2002: 7), an increasingly rare phenomenon in capitalist societies and a state of events which likely reflected the sweetest dreams of many a Keynesian economist. As the Federal Republic's relationship to its eastern neighbors began to deteriorate – this deterioration being due to great power politics – it needed to search for different kinds of migrants, meaning the stream/"repatriation" of "ethnic Germans" from the broader east of Europe was cut off at least until the end of the 1960s (*Ostpolitik*). The Federal Republic's economy needed labor power; the guest worker schemes allowed many, many workers to conditionally migrate; many of these workers stayed and eventually brought their families. Whether the Christian Democratic Union (CDU),[48] in power from 1949-1969, was able to anticipate that many guest workers would stay is immaterial. Many stayed for reasons of their own, and together these so-called guest workers added a modicum of diversity to what had until then been a very homogeneous postwar society. The reasons for this temporary postwar homogeneousness should be self-evident.

It is interesting, then, that the Federal Republic, perhaps inadvertently, was setting itself on a course for pluralism and heterogeneousness by means of a creative politics of migration in order to solve an economic problem while at the same time further consolidating a vision of a harmonious relationship between the education system and society at large. The *Hamburger Abkommen* (Hamburg Agreement) of 1964, at its roots a continuation of and replacement for the Düsseldorf Agreement from nine years prior, further standardized the structures of the Federal Republic's education system, although the Agreement of 1964 was, as will be brought to bear, flexible enough to allow for alternative developments, a fact that is visible in the document from 1964, as well, with its provisions for evening schools and colleges.

While subsequent developments worked to nominally loosen up the system (see the 1970s), the adoption of the Agreement in 1964 represents in and of itself a conservative undertaking insofar as it sought to further standardize and entrench the old tripartite system; the goal of the discussions at the time was rather the opening up of the highest school form,

[48] The acronym CDU will be used to refer to the political party, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany.

the *Gymnasium*, in order to supply the future economy with enough well-trained labor power. Interesting, too, is the notion that comparisons between the Federal Republic and other "developed" nations at the time, comparisons which were not favorable from the perspective of German educators and policymakers, resulted in efforts not to universalize access to the *Gymnasium* but rather to merely increase access by a few points in order to match the forecasted needs of the forecasted economy (Gass-Bolm 2005: 228-229). This was really just a functionalist solution to a problem inherent to functionalism.

While it was mentioned above that the Hamburg Agreement of 1964 can be understood as a fundamentally conservative endeavor, such a classification has the effect of whitewashing earnest discussions and their subsequent implications on education in the Federal Republic. While nominally increasing access to the highest levels of education was an explicit goal of policymakers, some latitude was granted to alternative educational forms. Führ and Furck (1998), for example, posit: "Particularly noteworthy is that henceforth experimental schools which deviated from the agreed upon basic structure would be admitted subsequent to approval by the KMK" (251; translated by author). This does not have to go down as a simple contradiction. The consolidation of the tripartite education system was conservative insofar as it was indicative of an attempt to steer society into the future by means of a system that had worked (except when it had not) in the past. There is no discussion of symbolic violence, exploitation or hegemony; instead, the arguments in favor of the tripartite systems were relatively simplistic tautologies: "It works because it has always worked", "It's a part of our tradition and without it our tradition would disappear" and "It sends people to where their skills dictate they belong". These were not necessarily consensus ideas, although reading histories of them suggests they might well have been. In fact, impulses to reform the education system along egalitarian lines were present toward the end of the decade, as well, namely amongst the Social Democrats (the SPD[49]) and their followers (Führ and Furck 1998: 251).

While some decision makers and educators were looking to the past for a guide to dealing with a present that they could not fully or maybe willfully comprehend, others could

[49] The acronym SPD will be used to refer to the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

see the writing on the wall: the Federal Republic was becoming more heterogeneous, the division of labor was becoming more complex and the processes of learning for individual pupils did not always follow the same trajectories. These broader social-educational realizations were not sufficiently reflected in the KMK, but the openings left in the Hamburg Agreement allowed for the more germane and reform-minded discussions that occurred in the 1970s (Hinz 2002: 36-37). The KMK, through the Hamburg Agreement, was successful in providing an enduring meta-structure and framework for the education system, a structure which was rigid, functionalist and based on the notion that the meritocratic sorting of very young children remained the best solution. Luckily, the structure proved not to be entirely rigid and was open enough to allow for the reemergence of an equally proud German educational tradition, namely *Reformpädagogik*. The 1960s were turbulent times in the Federal Republic. The economy was clipping along at a rate which could now only be dreamed of, and it seems educational undertakings simply sought to preserve the happy status quo. The status quo, however, was unhappy for many and would be greatly and deservedly shaken up by the ideas and interests that emerged with gusto in the spring of 1968.

The 1960s in India saw a greater push toward the development of a national educational policy, a development which was naturally frustrated by the central government's relative lack of power in the realm of secondary education. The first significant large-scale event, the establishment of the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), took place in 1961. The NCERT was tasked with standardizing approaches to education. In the Council's own words: "The NCERT was established with the agenda to design and support a common system of education, national in character, which at the same time would enable and encourage the expressions of the diverse culture across the country" (NCERT 2011: 2). The goal of the NCERT was, in fact, two-fold: standardization and disengagement "from its elitist colonial past" (NCERT 2011: iii). The NCERT was, much like the KMK, a body which attempted to steer the education system from above. That it was handcuffed constitutionally is an important idea; nevertheless, the NCERT was and has been able to exert some influence on the structure and trajectory of the Indian education system as a whole. It should be noted again that secondary education was not a priority for Nehru, who would pass away in office in 1964.

1964 was also an important benchmark concerning the central government's attempts to exert influence over educational policy. The Kothari Commission, also referred to in the

literature as the Education Commission (1964-1966), composed of seventeen members and including five foreigners (from the UK, the USA, France, Japan and the USSR), reviewed the obtaining education system (with a focus on "quality") in hopes of arriving at a comprehensive Indian educational policy. While the composition of the Commission is interesting in and of itself, especially the fact that a Soviet expert and an US-American expert contributed, its findings and recommendations are more relevant here to the extent that some of them, most notably the recommendation that a national educational policy should be formulated, were eventually taken up in earnest. In fact, the National Policy on Education was implemented not two years after the Commission issued its report. Back to the composition of the Commission: it is interesting to note that no members came from the states associated with the Non-Aligned Movement. This seems to have been a kind of missed opportunity to gain additional post-colonial insight into education, but given Nehru's focus on the commanding heights, it is perhaps understandable that he – and by extension, Congress – was more interested in how education could promote growth, a connection which all but demands a functionalist imagination.

In any case, the National Policy on Education of 1968, passed by Nehru's progeny, Indira Gandhi, represents a significant milestone in the country's attempts to construct a national education system. The introduction to the document is particularly revealing of the contrasting ideas that led to the formation of a nominal policy, insofar as its pays homage to the skeletal educational ideas of M. Gandhi and the legacy of other independence thinkers. The third article of the policy makes overt its overall goals:

> The Government of India is convinced that a radical reconstruction of education on the broad lines recommended by the education commission is essential for economic and cultural development of the country, for national integration and for realising the ideal of a socialistic pattern of society (NPE 1968: 38).

Part and parcel of this, as related to secondary education at least, was the adoption of the "Three-Language Formula", which would allow for English, Hindi and a regional language ("preferably one of the southern languages") as languages of instruction. This is obviously a major point of contrast with the Federal Republic at the time, where German was spoken by virtually every pupil and so the KMK could focus on mandating the acquisition of a foreign language, usually English, and did not have to wade into the power politics of language. This is something that would come later in the Federal Republic.

The goals of the NPE, namely social cohesion, demanded equality in secondary education, recognizing that: "education opportunity at the secondary…level is a major instrument of social change and transformation" (NPE 1968: 43). Parroting the ethos of modernization theory and functionalism, the document goes on: "Provision of facilities for secondary and vocational education should conform broadly to requirements of the developing economy and real employment opportunities" (43). While it is well and good that homage is paid to M. Gandhi at the beginning of the document, the spirit of the NPE is not really Gandhian; rather, it is geared toward what might be described as a vision of social solidarity brought about by the harmonization of the division of labor in society and the education system which is supposed to feed it.

The years of the 1960s were certainly more challenging than the previous decade for both countries. Economic growth had gradually started to cool in Germany relative to the decade prior, India's economy had contracted mid-decade, India had "lost" a short war versus China, Nehru passed away, the Berlin Wall was constructed, etc. Educational reform attempts in the 1960s – the Hamburg Agreement and the National Policy on Education – did not slam the door entirely on future reforms, but they also did little to challenge the prevailing cultural-educational arbitraries.[50] Education would remain a chiefly ascriptive endeavor. This educational conservatism would be challenged later.

6.3. The 1970s

The 1970s in India were tumultuous times, at least when it comes to the actions of the central government. Indira Gandhi, who became prime minister in 1966 and would remain in the post until 1977, represented the embodiment of both hope and frustration, with too great a dose of the latter bringing a temporary end to her reign. The 1970s were so eventful politically, culturally and socially that it might seem inappropriate to merely focus on changes to the education system. With that in mind, what follows will represent a summary of

[50] This term will be henceforth employed in reference to the educational dynamic of the cultural arbitrary.

important currents as they relate to education and, like the rest of this work, should not be viewed as exhaustive. On the whole, the 1970s in India can be understood as a further pronouncement of political, cultural and social fault lines, points of acute tension which Congress, in further centralizing power in the name of a quasi-socialistic vision of society, arguably did little to dampen. As concerns the link between education and, roughly speaking, power, the tensions were: first, that social mobility could transpire via the strategic operationalization of identity, an idea which was not unique to the 1970s but certainly gained tremendous currency; and second, that in light of this idea, the strategic pluralization of identity, the state needed stronger measures at its disposal to prevent dissolution and further partition, an idea which no doubt struck fear in the hearts of Congress, not least because of what India's neighbors to the east and west experienced in 1971. Something simply had to be done to hold everything together.

The process of sanskritization, described for the first time by the late influential Indian sociologist M.N. Srinivas in the 1950s, had become mainstream thinking in the 1970s and provided sufficient theoretical and empirical rebuttals to the idea that the caste system – and thus all of Indian society – was rigid and that identity was a static concept. Sanskritization, in Srinivas' (1995) words, is: "the process by which 'low' Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high, and frequently, 'twice-born' caste" (6). He goes on to explain that this process does not lead to structural change but only to positional change, meaning it affects only the redistribution of positions of social value, not the constitution of such positions.

This is certainly not to suggest that the caste system was immutable and perfectly determined social structure prior to Srinivas (or Ambedkar); rather, sanskritization provides a conceptual understanding of how social mobility depends on the formation of social groups, a formation which itself is aimed at upward caste and thus social mobility. These functional exercises in group formation along idealized lines had the effect, arguably, of shifting the onus for social transformation from all individuals, who could hope to acquire the necessary resources via education, back to the group. The point of this, however, is not to draw attention to a false choice between individual versus group identity; rather, it suggests that there was a pronounced disconnect between the central government and its promise of equality and what was actually delivered. Absent a formal social mechanism which could provide social

mobility to individuals – i.e. a transformative secondary education system – individuals turned to the construction of nascent group identities to ensure mobility.

Although the term sanskritization suggests a link between language and social positioning, this link is not entirely straightforward, especially given that language represents a particularly contested terrain of struggle, most pronouncedly in the realm of education. The politics of language are important. A more involved analysis of language politics, particularly in the context of education and the process of sanskritization, would add depth to the analysis at hand. For the sake of analytical expediency, however, it should suffice to note that emergent claims to a given position in the social hierarchy through language policy and its relation to education are important. That Hindi, the dominant language in terms of percentage of native speakers amongst the Indian population, should also serve as the national language was and remains an unpalatable notion for much of the population. The resultant (re)emergence of English as a kind of institutional lingua franca, especially in secondary and tertiary education, certainly represents significant problems; however, it might be the "least bad" of the alternatives, given that so few (.02 percent) in India speak it as a so-called "mother" language (cited in Mohanty 2006: 267). Official language policy in India has undergone some significant changes since independence, but the fact that English has stubbornly remained as a "subsidiary official language" alongside Hindi has underscored another Indian social quality: multilinguism. This quality gives reason for hope: according to Mohanty, this leads to greater "cognitive and intellectual skills", among other things, even amongst the "unschooled" (264).

Sanskritization and local language endeavors resulted in changes to society, changes which could be understood as threats, especially in the context of larger geopolitical movements and their effects, for example, on domestic secessionist movements. These changes, combined with challenges to Gandhi's centralized grip on power, perhaps best explain the context in which the most significant change to education in the 1970s, the 42nd Constitutional Amendment of 1976, transpired. Gandhi, as the result of an unfavorable (to say the least) court decision in 1975, was very nearly forced out of office for election fraud by the High Court of Allahabad, declared a state of emergency and ruled via "president's decree", a for-her handy tool leftover from the colonial legacy. In order to not wade too deeply into historicity, it will suffice to remark that this state of affairs lasted until 1977 and occurred against the backdrop of significant internal and external difficulties, including domestic

unrest which was linked up to economic struggles stemming from the recently concluded war with Pakistan and the oil crisis starting in 1973. Rather than stepping down (or aside), Gandhi proceeded to centralize power in order to overcome the diverse crises she faced.

It was during the "emergency" that the 42nd Constitutional Amendment was passed, an amendment which in its entirety fairly represented this significant thrust toward centralization. The attempts to centralize power were not focused on education; the prospects of national education, however, did change significantly, as educational policy ceased to be the exclusive domain of the individual states. From December 1976, education became a concurrent power, meaning the central government had gained the ability to steer national educational policy beyond the somewhat limited purview of the commissions of the previous two decades. The respective state governments were to become partners with the central government in matters of education (Pathak 2012: 21). According to the British Council (2014), by no means an unbiased source, the goals of this consolidation were three-fold: "reinforcing national and integrative character of education; maintaining quality and standards including those of teachers at all levels; and promoting excellence" (35). Such points are impossible to glean from a reading of the actual amendment, although it is quite clear that there was a modicum of consensus at the federal level to include education as a concurrent power.

While the 42nd Amendment, its goals, and the context from which it arose opened it up to significant and transformative criticism, it can be stated with a degree of certainty that its extension of educational policymaking power to the level of the central government helped lay the foundation for the eventual realization of Article 45 of the original constitution. The 1970s in India are still hotly contested times. What some view as pure overreach is viewed by others as a necessary step in order to hold the country together. Similarly, some view the years 1975-1977 as proof that Indian democracy was not mature enough; others point to the same years to suggest that democracy was so strong that it could endure a couple years of trying times. The enduring legacy in the realm of education and a legacy which perhaps more successfully evades the pitfalls of historicity can be formulated thusly: the central government, the government of India, received a much more pronounced foothold in education. This is important, especially if one considers processes of socialization and how they function in the context of a national society.

In Germany, the 1970s were equally challenging, at least from the perspective of policy. The so-called revolution of 1968, whereby young people took their legitimate grievances to the streets, is generally understood as a defining social moment in the history of postwar Europe. In short, the movements were not successful in the traditional sense, insofar as the military-industrial complex did not lose power, wars did not cease, atomic energy was not abandoned, capitalism did not lose its luster, etc.; they did, however, prove to be training grounds for future politicians and new political orientations, both of which would eventually, echoing Winston Churchill's cynical quote about political orientation and age, be coopted.

The generation which came of age in the spring of 1968 did, however, have a lasting impact on the German education system. As mentioned above, the Hamburg Agreement of 1964 had the dual effect of reinforcing the tripartite system and providing a modicum of space for alternative imaginations. The *Deutscher Bildungsrat* (German Advisory Council for Education) was founded in 1966 and was conceived of as a parallel organization to the KMK. According to Achim Leschinsky (2005), the goals of the Council were fourfold: "a) to propose demand and development plans, b) to make reform recommendations for the structure of the education system, c) to enumerate the associated financial requirements, and finally d) to articulate recommendations for long-term planning at different stages…" (818; translated by author).

The formation of the Council quite obviously preceded the events of 1968, but the impetus for change, or at least recognition that the education system was not dealing sufficiently with the requirements of an increasingly heterogeneous society, was already extant. In fact, as Leschinsky (2005) contends, "The Council was created in the 1960s, because the 'lag in modernity' of the German education system and the inability of the system to extricate itself from this predicament became publicly known" (823; translated by author). It could certainly be argued that the Council itself experienced a change in orientation subsequent to 1968. Such an idea is plausible if one peruses the Council's list of publications between the years 1967-1970, with the publications in 1967-1968 being first and foremost concerned with technical issues (teacher shortages and financial planning), and the publications subsequent to 1968 being geared toward more creative and reform-minded topics, including all-day schools, comprehensive schools, secondary school reform and the overall structure of the education system (see *Deutsche Nationalbibliothek*).

While the emergence of all-days schools is certainly fascinating regarding the effect it has had on school performance, family structure, gender emancipation, etc. (see Stecher 2011), the emergence of the *Gesamtschule* (comprehensive school) is of particular interest for the present purposes. The idea behind comprehensive schools in Germany existed prior to World War II, although the American military government's *Basic Principles for Democratization of Education in Germany* of 1947 and its insistence upon equality through comprehensive education (Braun 2004: 38) has apparently led to some ambiguity as to the providence of egalitarian and democratic reform endeavors in Germany (for example, see Puaca 2009). Just as democracy was not a foreign concept on German soil, but rather had a long and admittedly spotty history, the notion that comprehensive schools could offer a viable alternative to the tripartite system was and is not inimical to "Germanness". The nomenclature changed slightly (*Einheitsschulen* resurfaced later as *Gesamtschulen*), but the principles – egalitarianism, equality of opportunity, "humanism" and the "horizontalization" of secondary schooling – remained the same.

In line with the recommendations of the German Advisory Council for Education, ten-year pilot phases for comprehensive schools (*Gesamtschulen*) were first operationalized in 1967, with a "roll out" across all of the Federal Republic (with some exceptions) into the 1970s. The idea was that the pilot phase would produce the necessary evidence for the superiority of the comprehensive school relative to the tripartite system, but in reality, the comprehensive school versus *Gymnasium* debate was a political litmus test of sorts, with the CDU favoring the old model and the SPD championing the new. This debate, which did not result in the abandonment of either the tripartite or comprehensive model, remains unresolved; be that as it may, one can view the emergence of comprehensive schools in the 1960s and 1970s as an opening or loosening up of secondary schooling in Germany. According to Hubert Ertl and David Phillips (2000), the conflict was more political than pedagogical:

> The alliance between the Christian Democratic Party and the Christian Social Party (CDU/CSU)…was not willing to change a system which it saw as a stronghold of economic success and development. More than anything else, the Gymnasium was regarded as the best guarantee for high achievement (396).

In an increasingly rare instance in which democracy and education collide, citizens in North-Rhine Westphalia voiced their concerns about and displeasure with sweeping changes

to secondary education via a popular referendum in 1978, preventing reforms to the *Land*'s school system which had been proposed by the SPD-led government (*Landtag NRW*). The proposal of 1978, which would have combined lower secondary schools (grades five through ten) and left upper secondary intact ("tracked"), was viewed as a political waystation of sorts en route to fully integrated comprehensive schools. It was defeated. Although the comprehensive school model lost a significant amount of momentum in becoming a viable, widespread model at the national or even regional level, the extant schools were able to continue in their existence. The conservative and culturally elitist elements in North-Rhine Westphalia, in this case the *Landeselternschaft der Gymnasien*, a parent organization for pupils at the highest level schools, and the Union of Philologists, were the driving forces behind the abandonment of the reform endeavors (*Landtag NRW*).[51]

Attempts to reform the education system in the Federal Republic in the 1970s were frustrated by a number of factors: a lack of political power on the part of reformers due in large part to the federal nature of German politics; a financial crisis, the floating of the dollar and the resultant uncertainty; the Cold War, domestic disturbances and a lack of political incentive to tackle education (a persistent problem in most polities); and a large proportion of the population that viewed the *Gymnasium* as quintessentially German, a connection to a past that seemed removed from more regrettable happenings. That comprehensive schools have not disappeared from the educational landscape after the enthusiasm and eventual disappointment of the 1970s is a positive sign for the development of a more equitable secondary education system.

Although the *Gymnasium* is arguably one of the pillars of "German identity", there is an equally strong dose of *Reformpädagogik* (progressive education) in extant narratives.[52]

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[51] The culturally elitist and conservative elements seem to be on the wane and are thus more likely to focus their grievances on subject-specific matters than on matters of general school structure. For example, if one spends enough time discussing education with enough people in the country, one is sure to encounter ideas such as: "culture begins with the Latin language". In spite of the chauvinism implied by such a statement, this old approach to humanistic education is fine, provided that everyone has a real opportunity to learn the language of culture.

[52] One is hard pressed to find, for example, a biography of Helmut Schmidt, chancellor from 1974-1982, which does not focus on his time at the *Lichtwarkschule*, an alternative school in Hamburg (see, for example, Schwelien 2015).

One can locate a modicum of hope in the fact that the tumult of the 1970s, the frustrations of reformers, and the inability of society to change in line with the wishes of the self-assured, youthful left, did not result in a complete "either this or that" approach to schools. The notion that comprehensive schools emerged not as a total replacement, but as a measured alternative to the tripartite system, is indicative of a larger orientation toward compromise. The secondary school system was still largely organized vertically; there proved to be enough space, however, for some horizontal, "flattening" endeavors. While it is tempting to highlight the above as proof positive that the German approach to education has been ultra-conservative since the founding of the Federal Republic, such a conclusion is wholly unsatisfactory (Ertl and Phillips 2000: 405) insofar as it does not get at the reasons behind the general aversion to reform.

While the consolidation of the central government's power to steer education might be interpreted as a stepping stone to future, large-scale reforms in India, much of the conversation dealt not with the structure of secondary education as such but with the herculean task of finally making free and compulsory education a reality. This did nothing to change the cultural-educational arbitrary, although laying the groundwork for universal education can be interpreted as a success of a different kind. In Germany, the 1970s unfortunately represent a missed opportunity of sorts to completely reform the system. Instead of changing secondary education entirely in the form of comprehensive schools as the only show in town, reformers were forced to settle with the space left for them in the Hamburg Agreement of the decade prior to put comprehensive schools on the agenda. Since then, comprehensive schools can be understood as egalitarian beacons in a sea of supposedly meritocratic sorting mechanisms. This was an important opening.

6.4. The 1980s

The first half of the 1980s in India did not bring about much large-scale change in the field of education; there was, however, enough going on in the country at the time to frustrate efforts to reform secondary education. Indira Gandhi was again elected prime minister in 1980, but her second reign at the top of Indian government was prematurely terminated with her assassination in 1984. Her legacy is still being written, but for the present purposes, it can be

stated with confidence that her contribution to educational reform in India was spotty, meaning she was nominally successful in providing a framework by and through which national educational policy could be steered, although this came at the expense of democratic principles. She was able to operationalize the findings of the Education Commission (1964-1966) in the form of the National Policy on Education of 1968. That, coupled with the 42nd Constitutional Amendment, bolstered the power of the central government with regards to education. Her son and "dynastic" successor, Rajiv Gandhi, was able to put both seemingly unconnected accomplishments together in the form of the National Policy on Education (NPE) of 1986.

While the NPE of 1986 did not differ significantly in terms of content from the NPE of 1968, its advantage over its predecessor was that it had a frame of reference for evaluation and even measurement. To that end, the document itself includes reflexive, evaluative passages, including: "Perhaps the most notable development has been the acceptance of a common structure of education throughout the Country and the introduction of the 10+2+3 system by most States" (National Policy on Education 1986: 3).[53] While this is certainly true and Indian education was standardized, the report details the shortcomings of the NPE, namely that the policy as formulated in 1968 did not: "get translated into a detailed strategy of implementation, accompanied by the assignment of specific responsibilities and financial and organisational support. As a result, problems of access, quality, quantity, utility and financial outlay, accumulated over the years…" (National Policy on Education 1986: 3). Reading the document, one is left with the impression that the NPE of 1986 was concerned first and foremost with the consolidation of the gains made possible by the NPE of 1968 and the power granted to the central government in the realm of education beginning in 1976.

This resulted in the further standardization of school structure, here meaning the 10+2+3 scheme, although reformers were also occupied with providing broad-based access to lower and upper secondary. One of the significant goals of the NPE of 1986 was the standardization not of the "10", for this had been on the radar, so to speak, of Congress at

[53] The 10+2+3 system refers to ten years of primary and lower secondary, two years of upper secondary and three years of tertiary education.

least since the publication of the Constitution of India (Article 45); rather, the NPE recognized the importance of standardizing the "2", meaning the upper secondary level, as a feeder to the already standardized tertiary education sector (National Policy on Education 1986: 5). Although the document itself offers scant details on the standardization of lower and upper secondary, the push toward standardization did provide an opening for evaluation between the school levels in the form of the All India Secondary School Examination (AISSE). This has come to be the standardized sorting mechanism for this important "lynchpin" in the academic careers of Indian pupils and as such has been criticized mightily for myriad reasons, not least of which is related to the widespread effort to secure better scores through nefarious means. General criticisms about incentivizing academic dishonesty are certainly not unique to the AISSE and can be (and often are) extended to standardized exams at all levels in the Indian context, for everything from entry to tertiary education to civil service exams. Be that as it may, the topic of widespread cheating on exams exploded again in early 2015, where the shock seemed to have been related not to the fact that cheating took place but rather to the realization that it was highly coordinated (for example, see BBC 2015). This perceived shock is likely more akin to feigned outrage than anything else.

The transition between lower and upper secondary is not well devised. Of course, one could stick to the argument that a standardized exam is the only equitable way of determining who among pupils can secure a scarce spot in upper secondary school, but this approach is not without its glaring shortcomings, including the problematic relationship between knowledge and instruction. In this way, the arguments presented about measuring attainment via the PISA tests (1.3.) can be successfully applied to a critique of the AISSE. In short, standardized tests assess the level of preparedness for the given test and nothing more. The NPE of 1986 had the effect of redoubling efforts to regulate transitions in a standard and further standardizable way. This, together with steady increases in the rates of investment in education and the greater steering power on the part of the central government, led to what can be referred to as nominally successful standardization. What is more, the fact that rates of investment in education (as share of GDP) increased nearly three-fold between 1950 and the 1980s (Ganguly and Mukherji 2011: 101) and that transitions between lower and upper secondary were fully standardized creates a veneer of success, at least from the point of view that things were moving in the "right" direction.

Parallel to this standardization was a shift in emphasis away from general educational standards and toward newly conceived vocational standards at the post-transition, upper secondary level. These vocational standards, which focused on promoting labor market access amongst those upper secondary graduates uninterested in tertiary education, were related to six areas: agriculture, business and trade, technology and education, health services, home economics and humanities (Yadapadithaya 2000: 82). The emphasis on the vocationalization of secondary education in India as a result of the NPE of 1986 is no doubt significant. One is hard-pressed to find literature covering the matter, but it would be of little surprise if it came out that Germany's historical emphasis on vocational education in the secondary years has greatly influenced Indian policy makers' attempts to rationalize and/or harmonize education with the forecasted needs of the economy at large. This, however, is idle speculation.

While the NPE of 1986 did have effects on secondary education, it was more impactful in the realm of primary education, at least insofar as it sought to guarantee universal access to schools for children up to fourteen years of age, attempted to boost the quality of school education and reintroduced classical languages like Sanskrit.[54] What is more, the National Literacy Mission was championed by Rajiv Gandhi and was brought to life in 1988 (Yadapadithaya 2000: 82). The Mission aimed to teach basic numerical, literacy and, somewhat more ethereally, "understanding" skills to adults. While it would be incorrect to suggest that secondary education was neglected during the 1980s, it can be surmised that the real pressure points in education at the time were related to primary education and pre-literacy, two obviously distinct yet intertwined ideas. In terms of steering the education of the nation, these steps were no doubt instrumental. That being said, however, it behooves the author to point out that these were not forward-thinking, humanistic endeavors; rather, they can best be interpreted as, borrowing again from Spivak (2012), "damage control" (1). This becomes even clearer in reference to the unfulfilled promise of Article 45 of the Indian Constitution (see above). The NPE's efforts would, as will be seen, be complicated greatly by

[54] Similar to the point made about Latin above, one can make a connection between conservative notions of culture and Sanskrit. Again, it is not necessarily problematic to argue that culture begins with Latin or Sanskrit so long as access to opportunities to learn the language(s) are provided to *all* pupils.

the macroeconomic changes of the early 1990s, most pronouncedly by the privatization of education.

During the 1980s, the Federal Republic was the site of many frustrated reform attempts in education, a carryover perhaps from the failure to convincingly introduce comprehensive schools as a viable alternative to the tripartite structure. It became clear during the first half of the decade, however, that access to the highest levels of secondary education was expanding at an impressive rate (*Statistisches Bundesamt* 2005: 19), an increase generally attributed to greater gender equality in education. While this was no doubt a positive development, it served as a reification of the tripartite concept, a significant point in the by-then well-demarcated political-educational fault lines. Comprehensive schools, introduced earlier as a central plank on the SPD-FDP[55] platform, faced even greater obstacles in the beginning of the 1980s. According to the KMK's history (of itself), the problems associated with the introduction of comprehensive schools remained wholly unresolved until May 1982. Until then, comprehensive schools were successfully introduced only in those *Länder* governed by the SPD (Schultz-Hardt and Fränz 1998).

This was not problematic in and of itself and was in line with the principles of federalism. The main problem was that there was not a codified and unified approach to the recognition of school-leaving certificates across the Federal Republic; rather, the agreement between the *Länder* was ad hoc and provisional. This provisional agreement was replaced by a compromise in May 1982 which led to a standard framework for the recognition of comprehensive school certificates, an important step in ensuring that those schools had countrywide bureaucratic backing (Schultz-Hardt and Fränz 1998).

After the social, political, economic and cultural chaos of the 1970s, chaos which led to a certain reimagination of public life, the 1980s were, by comparison, relatively banal, especially in the realm of education. Helmut Schmidt's SPD-led coalition government collapsed in 1982, and his successor, Helmut Kohl, similarly to his peers across the Channel to the north and on the other side of the Atlantic, attempted to stimulate the economy by

[55] FDP refers to the Free Democratic Party (Germany).

reducing both public expenditures and taxes. This approach, while nominally successful, eroded any hopes that had obtained about greater state involvement in the education sector. More pertinent to the discussion at hand, the comprehensive school project as a solution to problems stemming from systemic educational inequality lost the head of steam it had generated during the preceding decade. Kohl's and the CDU's fundamental ideas about the relationship between family, pupils and society are not insignificant; rather, they are indicative of a powerful societal fissure which at its core has everything to do with the individual-collective dichotomy.

The idea that the CDU stood for less oversight on the part of the central government, more federalism, more self-reliance and "individual initiative" does not require much explanation. In education, rather than empowering schools to shape pupils with equality minded reforms, the idea was that the family should be imbued with even more power to decide what education its progenies receive. Part and parcel of criticisms about broad educational reforms was the accusation that the SPD adhered to disproved, 19th Century educational ideals, a veiled shot across the bow of the comprehensive school project (*Konrad Adenauer Stiftung*). Politicians' speeches and memoirs are rarely intended to hold scientific validity but are generally simple exercises in obfuscation.

That being said, the spirit of the times can be gleaned from such statements, and the spirit of at least the first half of the 1980s was in line with a vision of society more similar to Jefferson and Montesquieu than to the SPD establishment and the by-then-discredited communist fellow-travelers. Power was to be divested from the heavy handed state and invested in families. While the German economy did not improve dramatically under the stewardship of Kohl, the reincarnation of the CDU/CSU did, at the very least, disallow sweeping reforms to the education system. This could help to explain why the "radical" ideas of the 1970s lent themselves to some institutional success, at least to the extent that they gave rise to the comprehensive school as an alternative model, but did not lend themselves to sweeping reform. Instead of replacing the tripartite system, comprehensive schools were simply added to the mix, a seemingly unattractive resolution for both sides of the political spectrum.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, reform efforts in the last half of the decade were focused not on structural reform but on, in a manner of speaking, window dressing. The KMK, for example, seemed to have been fixated on further standardizing upper secondary and the

Abitur. In this instance, the fault lines separating the CDU-governed *Länder* and those governed by the SPD were not at all far from one another. For example, while the CDU's standard line was that more emphasis ought to be placed on the "standard" subjects (German, foreign languages, mathematics, the natural sciences and history), the SPD was interested in broadening the thematic emphases to include vocational topics, including engineering and economics. A painless compromise on the matter was reached in 1987 (Schultz-Hardt and Fränz 1998). That this was arguably the most significant reform of the 1980s speaks to how unpalatable largescale reform, meaning the replacement of the tripartite system with a comprehensive school system, had become. According to Hinz (2002): "In fact, the comprehensive school was integrated into the existing school system, whereby its constantly increasing but nonetheless minor level of demand is an indication of the fact that its reform approach could clearly only be realized in part" (46; translated by author).

The 1980s can then be understood as a decade in which comprehensive schools were incorporated into a large structure, not as a replacement for the *Hauptschule-Realschule-Gymnasium* trifecta but as an alternative to them. If standardized tests are any indication, which the author has argued they really are not, pupils at comprehensive schools have lagged behind their peers in *Realschulen* in terms of test performance (for example, see Prenzel et al 2003). Comprehensive schools were allowed to continue to exist, but their emergence as a viable alternative throughout all of Germany was handicapped from the 1980s onwards. In fact, one could argue that the referendum in North-Rhine Westphalia in 1978 was the ultimate death knell to sweeping reforms. The timely incorporation of comprehensive schools into the broader school structure in the Federal Republic no doubt made easier the incorporation of the school system of the former German Democratic Republic into the Federal Republic's system. Again, the tripartite system was expanded to allow for alternative school forms, including the GDR's comprehensive *Polytechnische Oberschule* (polytechnic secondary school). The tripartite part of the system remained dominant, yet there was enough room – thanks to reform pushes in the 1970s – to allow for the incorporation of alternative forms.

The fall of the Berlin Wall represented a crisis of sorts, but the Federal Republic had what was perceived as a solid enough position when it came to its school structure to render problems of incorporation insignificant. Education rarely if ever features prominently in "big decisions made by serious men", but it can at least be argued in the context of 1989 that education was not neglected; rather, there was a certain confidence that welcoming the former

German Democratic Republic back into the proverbial fold would not be complicated to too great an extent by differing approaches to educational policy. The tent, in other words, had become large enough to house all of the circus animals, even the dangerous and exotic ones. Although educational reform in the German Democratic Republic has fallen outside the purview of this particular project, the topic is nonetheless fascinating, at least insofar as the creation of the postwar education system was rationalized to a far greater extent than was the system in the Federal Republic. In any event, educational policy does not seem to have been a topic which kept policymakers awake at night before and after reunification (although maybe it should have been).

The 1980s in both places can be understood as a time of greater gains in educational access. Measures were taken in Germany to allow more pupils to enjoy the privileges of an education at the highest-level schools. In India, the National Policy on Education of 1986 sought to expand primary education and to regulate transitions between primary and secondary and secondary and tertiary levels. Expansion is good as long as every pupil and potential pupil is able to reap the rewards. In both places, the endeavors to extend education or a different kind of education to more people can be interpreted as steps in the right direction. Viewed from a different angle, the expansion of the *Gymnasium* in Germany and secondary education in India was not universal, meaning the cultural-educational arbitrary was not challenged and secondary education was not stripped of its ascriptive powers. The balance of educational "winners" and "losers" merely shifted, but the logic behind systems which allowed for "winners" and "losers" to emerge remained.

6.5. The 1990s

India in the 1990s witnessed intense macroeconomic changes, changes which would greatly influence the course not only of the role of India in the world but also of the basic approach to education. Prior to the 1990s, and with a few obvious exceptions, India followed the rough path laid out by Nehru, who was at the very least conscious of the vital connection between nation, society and industry. A central component of his developmental vision was planning, and planning involved high degrees of bureaucratic administration, and altogether this led to a tidy clichéd moniker that somewhat uncomfortably encapsulates post-independent Indian

political economy: the License-Permit Raj. Bureaucracy should not be interpreted as a bad thing in and of itself, at least insofar as it allows for nominal oversight of what can broadly be referred to as "public goods" and can help bolster employment numbers in a given economy. What is more, bureaucracy can help prevent catastrophes, a point brought to bear by the fact that India has not seen largescale famine since independence. Notions of efficiency, however, ostensibly did not enter into the bureaucratic equation, but they soon would, which is likely more indicative of broader changes in economic orthodoxy than anything else, changes which were, of course, underscored by and through the carrots and sticks of the Washington Consensus. This change in economic orthodoxy had a profound impact on the education sector insofar as it provided a rather large opening for private schools.

Starting in 1991 (although attempts had been made in decades prior), and in response to macroeconomic tensions related to currency policy and balance of payments crises, Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and then-Finance Minister Manmohan Singh began to open up the Indian economy. The program, referred to now as "Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization" (LPG), in addition to attempting to simplify bureaucracy in hopes of stimulating growth, also made easier foreign direct investment. This had and has had a pronounced effect on many industries (with some exceptions, of course), not least of which is the education sector. To speak of the private schools which emerged as a uniform block, however, is misleading, for different types of private schools have emerged and gained tremendous traction since the early 1990s. According to Desai, Dubey, Vanneman and Banerji (2009), there are three types of private schools: first, "schools that receive grant-in-aid but are privately run" (11), a somewhat typical public-private partnership; second, "schools that receive little government funding but are recognized based on certain criterion [sic] outlined by the government and must follow certain regulations" (11); and third, "schools that are unrecognized and might not meet the criteria" (11). Although these forms of private schools existed prior to the 1990s, they have become pronouncedly more widespread in the past decades.

While it is difficult to create a typology for a highly diffuse and privatized market in education, private schools, in addition to falling into one of the three categories above, also vary in terms of management structure. While the first types of private schools are generally run by "non-profit management" and have sufficient infrastructure, the third category of schools are run in a "more ad-hoc fashion, sometimes in the back of a teacher's home"

(Desai, Dubey, Vanneman and Banerji 2009: 12). This is all to say that there is a wide range in infrastructure, professionalism and oversight in private schools, and while one could quite easily bemoan the privatization of a public good for a general lack of oversight, extant research suggests that private schooling in India in general leads to better learning outcomes for pupils, but this is attributed in large part to less teacher absenteeism, greater attendance rates on the part of pupils and higher education levels of teachers (Muralidharan and Kremer 2007: 3).

Based on the evidence, it stands to reason that so-called market friendly education can be a good thing. Because this approach to education relies on private tuition, however, its effect on the reproduction of inequality is certainly not good. Sharma (2013), for example, argues: "The privatization of education in the neoliberal era has not weakened the nexus between education and stratification" (563). While this is by no means a damning critique of private education, the reasons behind this conclusion are very straightforward, at least as concerns low- or no-income earners: "The deprived individuals/aspirants do not have access to quality education in the public sector, and due to unaffordable cost of education in the private sector, the remain deprived of market-friendly education" (563). The problem, of course, is that the abrogation of the state's formal responsibilities concerning education has led to an intense proliferation of for-profit schools geared toward the children of the poor and working classes, schools which are concerned first and foremost with the veneer of "quality education", a promise upon which they are hard-pressed to deliver (Nambissan 2010: 293).

When it comes to secondary education in particular, enrollment figures at private institutions are astoundingly high. As of 2013, for example, forty-eight percent of all Indian secondary school students were enrolled in "institutions that are not operated by a public authority" (World Bank: World Development Indicators). It must be stated at this juncture that the rise in private schools (even unregulated ones) has dovetailed with increased rates of school attendance, meaning that private schools quite obviously grew to such a large extent in line with latent demand. The "Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization" (LPG) era loosened up the market in general and the schooling market in particular, wresting the monopoly on education from the state and leading to an even more fractured, unregulated "system" than the one that had preceded it.

With increasing private schooling enrollment numbers in rural and urban areas throughout India, the question is no longer whether privatized education is a viable

alternative to public education; the question, rather, is whether education as a public good, regulated by democratic institutions, can survive. While elites have sent their children to private schools for generations now, the lower- and middle-classes in India are increasingly doing the same. If education truly is a terrain by and through which the state can actively combat the pathologies of the market economy, "level the playing field" and foster equality of opportunity, what does it mean if the state no longer even nominally controls or regulates education?

The privatization of education via the "Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization" (LPG) program in India was no doubt the largest transformation to the education system at large during the 1990s, a transformation which continues to affect schooling in India. The public-private dichotomy is optimistically viewed in terms of a partnership, with hope residing in the notion that the proliferation of private schools can ultimately be regulated by the state. This means, however, that the state must cede control of a vital tool for shaping society. Another significant measure in the 1990s, the Mid-Day Meal Programme, was launched in 1995 and aimed to ensure that all primary school children were provided with lunch, a measure which aimed to bolster attendance and ultimately educational success. While this did not aim to impact the structure of the education system as such, it does offer insight into an interesting point: the most transformational thing the central government could do at the time was to (partially) remove itself from education and focus on feeding the children.

Germany in the 1990s was facing changes and complications of a different kind. The most pressing challenge, of course, involved German reunification and the absorption of the *Länder* of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) into the structures of the Federal Republic. Helmut Kohl, who had replaced Helmut Schmidt in 1982 as chancellor and had subsequently overseen a different style of governance, including different approaches to "social problems", was chancellor of the Federal Republic for the majority of the last decade of the 20th Century. When it comes to the specific problem of education, the 1990s, broadly speaking, represent a continuation of the approach to education in the 1980s, meaning there was a paucity of broad-based reform initiatives. Instead, pertinent questions surrounding educational policy were framed in terms of how the *Länder* of the GDR could be absorbed into the overall educational structure of the Federal Republic without endangering the relative autonomy of the existing educational strategies of what had been West Germany. Looking

back at the pivotal year, 1990, Christopher Führ (1995) contends: "During the initial phase of political euphoria in autumn 1990, there was much talk of an 'all-German educational union'…this meant a rapidly effective transference of West German school and university structures to the new federal *Länder*…these short-term expectations…have vanished" (277).

Given the lack of political and popular will to further centralize decision-making powers in "peripheral" realms, of which education, insofar as it is defined as a cultural field, is a part, it is perhaps unsurprising that the notion of an "all-German educational union" did not come to fruition. Considering that the model of the Federal Republic had eventually "triumphed" in the face of the threats of the Iron Curtain, it is also entirely unsurprising that education was to remain federalized. This approach, after all, had proven effective in a circular kind of reasoning. Needless to say, the absence of a push toward an educational union meant that little could be learned from the East's experiences with a different educational structure, a structure which professed egalitarianism and proved at least rhetorically effective in terms of allowing for social mobility. This was, perhaps rightly, not viewed as a significant problem; rather, the main problem had to do with the recognition of East German school leaving certificates and diplomas.

In the end, the KMK came to an agreement whereby all East German certificates and diplomas would be officially recognized, save those which proved an expertise in Marxian economics or the GDR's social system (Schultz-Hardt and Fränz 1998). The Federal Republic presumably had enough experts in these fields occupying tenured positions at its universities. The reunification of Germany offered some hope for proponents of comprehensive schools, with the idea being that the GDR's comprehensive schools (*Einheitsschulen*) would simply be transformed into the Federal Republic's version (*Gesamtschulen*). This was simply not the case, as there was a general push for the (re)adoption of the tripartite system in the new *Länder*.

There were, however, some smaller-scale openings through which alternative approaches to schools could emerge, as the KMK decided in February 1990 to make it bureaucratically easier for experimental schools to come into operation (Schultz-Hardt and Fränz 1998). Similar to the last half of the 1980s, sweeping structural reforms to education were forgone in the name of preserving the cultural autonomy of the individual *Länder*. What is more, the pace (or lack thereof) of reform and reform impulses in the 1990s in the area of education more closely reflected the conservatism of the 1950s than the progressivism of the

1970s (Ilien 2009: 122). The structure of the education system, by the 1990s an amalgamation of 19th Century and 1970s impulses, would not be reformed on account of purely internal pressures to remake society by making education more egalitarian; rather, the driving force behind rethinking education in Germany came from the outside in the form of what is referred to as the TIMSS-*Schock* (shock) of 1997, whereby educators and policymakers were alarmed by the fact that German pupils performed much worse than did, for example, their Japanese and Swiss counterparts (Trebing 2014: 64). This is to say that globalization exerted different structural pressures in Germany than it did in India in the 1990s.

In general, the focus on education in Germany in the 1990s was two-fold: first, absorbing bureaucratically and structurally the "new" *Länder*; and second, conceiving anew or at the very least readjusting the education system at large to the transforming dynamics of the newly globalized division of labor. Contrasting that decade to the 1970s, emphasis was placed on competitiveness in relation to other industrial (or post-industrializing) nations instead of on creating a new, more equitable society by reconfiguring the old tripartite system. The tripartite system alone, however, was most definitely not static. In fact, by the end of the 1990s, the "lowest" school form, the *Hauptschule*, was beginning to disappear from the educational landscape. Between 1960 and 1998, enrollment in *Hauptschulen* across the Federal Republic had halved, whereas enrollment in *Realschulen* and *Gymnasien* had increased nearly three-fold (Hinz 2002: 41). What is more, the *Realschule* as a school form was imbued with more "openness", as a greater balance was sought in those schools between vocational training and general education (Hinz 2002: 42). It appears, then, that the third leg of the tripod was lapsing into obscurity, perhaps thanks to the relative broadening of the education system at large, a broadening which by the 1990s had done much to encourage – or at least not bureaucratically discourage – alternative school forms, and perhaps because of a general, social push toward global competitiveness, a topic which even the Social Democrats (SPD), the party which had hung its proverbial hat on educational egalitarianism, would come to champion.

The SPD came again to the top of government in 1998, and the new chancellor, Gerhard Schröder, seemingly had little time for his party's by-then-unfashionable approach to education. The Social Democrats, like their rough ideological equivalents in the Washington, D.C., and London at the time, needed to be flexible in order to adjust to the so-called "New

Economy" without alienating their respective bases. The education system as a whole could and should not be reformed entirely; rather, it simply needed to be tailored to the requirements of a transforming economy. This idea had the effect of further shifting the balance of the discussion away from "education" as such and toward rationalized vocational training, once again failing to alter the inherent violence done by a system predicated on such an idea.

Secondary education in India ceased to be a predominantly public good subsequent to the economic reforms of the early 1990s. The explosion in the number of and attendance rate at private schools can be interpreted as a positive phenomenon, at least insofar as it allowed for greatly increased rates of access to schooling. Seen from a different perspective, however, un- and under-regulated private schools can be understood as a troubling conflation of educational goals and market principles. In Germany, educational priorities changed slightly so as to be more faithfully in line with the perceived needs of the labor market. Labor specialization required early educational specialization. That the lowest school form, the *Hauptschule*, did not really lead to any kind of role in the division of labor seems to have been taken for granted. The educational "losers" were simply to become the "losers" in the new labor market. The cultural-educational arbitrary remained stubbornly intact.

6.6. The 2000s

The 2000s saw great involvement on the part of the Indian government in the field of education. The most important measure was also the longest coming. In 2002, some 55 years after independence, the 86th Constitutional Amendment was finally passed, guaranteeing free and compulsory education to children between the ages of six and fourteen. The reasons for the delay in passing the amendment should be fairly understandable at this point; however, it is interesting that the guarantee of the provision of free and compulsory education was only realizable subsequent to the private sector assuming responsibilities which theretofore had been solidly within the purview of the state. The text of the Right to Education (Chapter 3, Article 21A of the Indian Constitution) is nearly identical to the text in the original constitution of 1948. The fact that the Right to Education was an addendum to Article 21 is significant, as it connects education with personal liberty. Article 21 states: "No person shall

be deprived of his [sic] life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law" (*The Constitution of India* 2008: 10).

The ratification of the 86th Amendment can be viewed as a democratic delivery on a promise and speaks perhaps more to the difficulties in delivering on democratic ideals than anything else, a unique source of frustration for citizens and pupils. Amartya Sen (2005), a towering figure in academia who has spent much time in the field and has been a staunch supporter of universal education, contends: "Despite the frustration with democracy expressed by many people, disappointed particularly by the slow progress against social inequality, what is really needed is a more vigorous practice of democracy, rather than the absence of it" (Sen 2005: 36).

Even though free and compulsory education took a tremendous amount of time to come to fruition, its ultimate arrival serves as a sign that democracy should be pursued more faithfully and not abandoned, in spite of its complications. The idea that the (seemingly benign) market arguably enabled the central government to finally enshrine Article 21A complicates greatly this notion of democracy. On balance, however, free and compulsory education throughout India is a tremendous benchmark and should be lauded, even if the scattershot privatization of schools is ultimately what enabled the state to reach this benchmark.

Perhaps even more significant during the "aughts" was the 2008 passage of the National Scheme for Incentive to Girls for Secondary Education (NSIGSE), with the idea being that structural gender inequalities were making it especially difficult for female pupils to pursue secondary education and that positive action on the part of the state was necessary to incentivize enrollment, particularly among those female pupils from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The scheme, which was intended to offer female pupils a lump sum of money upon their turning eighteen and passing the tenth grade, was significant at least insofar as it reflected a nuanced understanding of the complexities of inequality. Even within the rubric of gender inequality, there are, according to Sen (2005), six "distinct phenomena": "(1) survival inequality; (2) natality inequality; (3) unequal facilities; (4) ownership inequality; (5) unequal sharing of household benefits and chores; and (6) domestic violence and physical victimization" (224). The NSIGSE, of course, did not aim to overcome all these phenomena in one fell swoop; rather, it sought to dampen the effects of all of them, perhaps most specifically the fifth phenomenon. Whether the NSIGSE might be considered "friendly fire"

is an interesting question; however, at the very least it can be said that the scheme sought to overcome a distinct yet broad phenomenon, namely gender inequality at its intersection of class and caste hierarchies. To wit, the scheme was expanded beyond the confusing confines of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, but interestingly, those pupils enrolled at "private unaided" schools were disqualified from the scheme (Department of School Education & Literacy-a).

The next significant reform at the level of the central government was the 2008 Scheme for Construction & Running of Girls' Hostel for Students of Secondary and Higher Secondary Schools. This was, just as the name implied, a scheme whereby female pupils would not have to worry about issues related to housing/housing costs in the pursuance of secondary and upper secondary schooling. Similar to the NSIGSE, the scheme represents a sober and nuanced understanding of the ways in which gender inequalities are reproduced and aims to lessen the effects of the Sen's (2005) third, fifth and sixth "distinct phenomena" (224). While one could certainly make the argument that these schemes, insofar as they focus on gender, do little to combat inequality because they do not address the root of inequality – a class-based society – it must be at least mentioned that they seek to overcome social inequalities that spring from the nexus of class, gender and caste. As Sen (2005) contends, class is important, but a sole focus on class relations would obscure the interconnectedness of different kinds of inequality:

> We have to recognize, simultaneously, that (I) there are many sources of disparity other than class…; and (II) nevertheless, class disparities are not only important on their own, but they also tend to intensify the disadvantages related to the other forms of disparity (210).

In other words, and to take this idea further, a focus on overcoming gender disparities can also have the effect of promoting the reduction of class and other disparities.

The other noteworthy reforms initiated by the central government during this decade were expressly concerned with overcoming social inequalities and promoting quality in pedagogical technique and infrastructure. In 2008, the "scheme for setting up of 6,000 Model Schools at block level", an admittedly unattractive moniker, was launched with the goal of creating model school infrastructures across India. The scheme included the setting up of 3,500 schools in so-called "educationally backward blocks" which were to be run by the

governments of the states and union territories. The additional schools, some 2,500, were intended to be set up in non-educationally backward blocks through public-private partnerships (Malagi 2012: 3). The model schools are to be funded via recurring grants from the central government. The aims of the scheme are certainly straightforward: to ensure the wide geographical distribution of quality schools and to have the schools serve as models of sorts for school administration, infrastructure, curriculum, etc.

While in a country as geographically and demographically gigantic as India, 6,000 schools might not seem like a lot, the hope imbued in these model schools was that they would serve as both conceptual and brick-and-mortar archetypes for the (future) spread of quality schools. Germany, however, has not experienced a similar problem, with schools – generally *Gymnasia* built around the turn of the last century – serving, in those places which were not completely destroyed during World War II, as impressive architectural symbols of institutional legitimacy. In any event, the setting up of model schools in India in order to both diminish educational inequalities and to promote quality can be viewed as a central step in the program initiated by the central government.

Concurrently, the National Means-Cum-Merit Scholarship Scheme (NMMSS) was launched with the official objective: "to award scholarships to meritorious students of economically weaker sections to arrest their drop out at class VIII and encourage them to continue the study at secondary stage" (Department of School Education & Literacy b). The "means" part of the scheme disallowed the provision of scholarships to pupils whose parental income exceeded a certain threshold; measuring "merit" was intended to be done via standardized examinations. What is more, the scheme is aimed directly at the transition years between primary, lower and upper secondary (grades eight through twelve) and applies to state government, local and public-private partnership schools and was envisaged to provide a total of 100,000 scholarships. This, combined with the setting up of model schools discussed above, represents a significant shift in the educational purview of the central government. Having finally codified the provision of free and compulsory education until the age of fourteen, the central government has been able to play a much more activist role in attempting to roll back inequalities produced and reproduced through secondary education. While it can certainly be argued that the government for too long neglected secondary education, the schemes launched in 2008 reflect at the very least an understanding that

something needed to be changed and that the central government had the funds, power and ideas at its disposal to facilitate this change.

While one could fairly describe the 2008 schemes as mere window dressing, at least insofar as their potential impacts were limited to but a fraction of pupils, the Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) of 2009 was both more forward-thinking and sweeping. The goals of this scheme include universal access to secondary education by 2017 and "universal retention" by 2020. According to the official explanation of the program, all actions fall under one of three categories: "physical facilities", "quality interventions" and "equity interventions". The physical facilities to be provided are: "(i) Additional class rooms, (ii) Laboratories, (iii) Libraries, (iv) Art and crafts room, (v) Toilet blocks, (vi) Drinking water provisions and (vii) Residential Hostels for Teachers in remote areas" (Department of School Education & Literacy c). Sitting comfortably at a desk, one can easily forget just how important infrastructure can be. Given the relative neglect of secondary schools since India's independence (see above), it only makes sense that creating meaningful secondary educational institutions must include attention to brick and mortar.

Without "quality interventions", however, the expenditures on brick and mortar would be meaningless. The RMSA sought to bolster qualities via:

> (i) appointment of additional teachers to reduce PTR [pupil-to-teacher ratio] to 30:1, (ii) focus on Science, Math and English education, (iii) In-service training of teachers, (iv) science laboratories, (v) ICT [information and communications technology] enabled education, (vi) curriculum reforms; and (vii) teaching learning reforms (Department of School Education & Literacy c).

The push to standardize quality in secondary schools is laudable, and while one can question the practicability of the scheme, its aims are such that it can at the very least be interpreted as a concrete step in the direction of universal access to quality secondary schooling. The focus on teaching is particularly encouraging, at least insofar as teachers can be interpreted as gatekeepers to educational advancement. With smaller class sizes, a focus on teacher training and retraining and a new approach to pedagogical studies, the hope is that significant problems related to the teaching profession (qualifications, absenteeism and overburdening, to name a few) will be overcome.

The "equity inventions" enumerated in the scheme are also of central importance. They include:

> (i) special focus in micro planning, (ii) preference to Ashram schools for upgradation, (iii) preference to areas with concentration of SC/ST/Minority for opening of schools, (iv) special enrolment drive for the weaker section, (v) more female teachers in schools; and (vi) separate toilet blocks for girls (Department of School Education & Literacy c).

Obviously, the RMSA represents a landmark in promoting secondary education throughout India. The measures introduced look to achieve universal retention by 2020, although this refers strictly to lower secondary education. The next challenge rests in promoting universal access to upper secondary, a particularly difficult problem considering that the AISSE "objectively" determines this vital transition, just as the secondary-tertiary transition is brokered through exam organizations reporting to the Central Board of Secondary Education. The merits of regulating transitions via standardized examinations will also be discussed in the final section.

The 2000s were significant in terms of establishing the contours of the central government's involvement in secondary education. As mentioned before, the mere fact that secondary education featured prominently in public policy can be interpreted as a sign that the policymakers have come to understand the central role secondary education can play in shaping the lives and future livelihoods of pupils. This shift in focus from primary to secondary education, however, likely could not have happened absent the passage of the 86th Amendment (free and compulsory education). As suggested above, Article 21A was a promise long in the keeping, and even this landmark article was probably only made possible by the partial privatization of the education sector which had the effect of significantly unburdening the state. This is not an endorsement of privatization or even private schools; rather, it is a tacit acknowledgment that there is in this case a good side to privatization, if only in the short-term, as long as one does not ponder too deeply the implications of the double embeddedness discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

Education in Germany went through significant transformations in the 2000s, as well, but, in contrast to India, these transformations were initiated largely from without. For the most part, the changes stemmed from reforms to higher education through the Bologna

Process, although a novel approach to apprenticeships, one that sought to connect training to companies and their perceived requirements, was also developed with the Agenda 2010, which can be viewed as a kind of deepening of the public-private consensus. With regards to formal education, the Bologna Process itself, which in short sought to harmonize quality standards and degrees across Europe and has since its inception in 1999 expanded to fifty countries, represented a profound and confounding change in the tertiary educational landscape in Germany. The switch from a unified *Magister/Diplom* to the progressive Bachelor/Master was painful both in terms of the abandonment of a long-important academic-cultural signifier and in terms of the administrative tasks associated with such sweeping reforms. The merits and disadvantages associated with the Bologna Process are highly interesting, even if one focuses on effects in a singular national context (for example, Scholz and Stein 2009). More pertinent here, however, are the effects of the Bologna Process on secondary education in Germany. These include downward pressures on the German education system starting in 1999.

The Bologna Process at its core is about harmonizing European universities with the European common market. Sabine Klomfaβ (2011), for example, posits that the topic of connecting university studies throughout Europe to the European labor market through common degrees was the thrust behind the process, with the notion of employability within and across borders shaping much of the discourse (131). This argument, of course, is entirely plausible. Equally plausible is the notion that, while functionalist reforms to universities and university systems across Europe were approached with well-meaning rigor, the transition between secondary education and university education was and has been largely ignored, meaning policymakers paid but scant attention to the ways in which the *Gymnasium*, for example, qualitatively and quantitatively prepares its charges for university studies (Klomfaβ 2011: 131).

Just as the university systems and structures in Germany were adjusted so as to conform to the standards developed by the Bologna Process, the structure of the *Gymnasium* was adjusted, with arguably little oversight or debate, to conform to what had become the standard international school ages. Combined with the external pressures of a different character exerted by the PISA results (as discussed in 1.3.) this led to a somewhat rash adjustment to the international community (for more on PISA and reforms in Germany, see Raidt 2009). This is all to say that a major effect of the Bologna Process itself in Germany,

coupled with pressures to standardize secondary education, was a shortening of the years pupils must spend in school before they fulfill university entrance requirements.

The switch from G9, meaning nine years of secondary education at the *Gymnasium* for a total of thirteen school years, to the G8, eight years of secondary schooling at the *Gymnasium*, was hotly debated in Germany. In the first half of the decade, thirteen *Länder* decided to officially shorten school tenures for pupils by a year while maintaining the same amount of instructional hours throughout the school career, thereby increasing the "formal learning intensity" (Huebener and Marcus 2015: 2). In addition to harmonizing the school system in line with global standards, an argument in favor of this approach was that it would allow for earlier entry into the labor market for graduates (2), a particularly prescient line of argumentation considering the general fears obtaining related to the state's abilities to meet its future welfare obligations. Demographic changes and growing welfare expenditures make the prolongation of working lives all but inevitable, meaning the primary justification for the switch to the G8 is incredibly short-sighted.

The widespread introduction of the G8 led to an overall reduction in upper secondary school-leaving age by ten months, a curious number which can be explained by mild increases in grade repetition. To that point, Huebener and Marcus (2015) argue: "There is no evidence for any adverse effect of the reform on completed education, measured by the share of students graduating with university entrance qualifications from high school" (3). Be that as it may, such a broad reform to the *Gymnasium* and the necessary requirements for a school-leaving certificate which allows for university studies has not been unanimously praised. Teachers and parents have bemoaned the reforms, albeit for divergent reasons, with complaints of parents focusing largely on the increased pressure and workload placed on their children (5).

Concerns amongst educators are comprehensive, which is to say that they are far from unanimous. The switch from G9 to G8 and the resultant intensification of classroom hours has put pressure of different kinds on teachers and school administrators (for more on the discussion, see "*Empfehlungen des 'Runden Tisches zu G8/G9' an die Landespolitik in Nordrhein-Westfalen*" 2014). What is more, if one has had the misfortune of partaking in departmental meetings about curricular development, one is quick to realize that even university lecturers are largely unhappy with the reforms, although for reasons of their own. The G8 has faced strident opposition, but it does not appear to be at risk of being replaced by

the G9. In a country which is not quite officially secular, it is interesting to say the least that the "holiest" institution, the institution which is in equal parts admired and revered, is the *Gymnasium*. Any changes to it are hot-button issues.

Another significant step in the 2000s occurred at the level of primary schools. Although the history of all-day schools in Germany probably deserves more attention than it will get here, the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) allocated €4 billion to the *Länder* for the establishment of all-day schools throughout the Federal Republic, with the idea being that this would lead to a better connection between classroom and non-classroom activities for pupils and, perhaps more importantly, would allow for more parents, freed from afternoon childcare responsibilities, to (re)join the labor force (Stecher 2011: 38). Viewed in concert with the establishment of the demanding G8, one could certainly make the argument that the outlook for German school education starting in the 2000s was geared more toward relying on public institutions – rather than the family – to look after and educate minors. In terms of the reproduction of social inequalities, the state has recognized that it perhaps possesses the tools required to ensure that the social positions of the offspring do not simply reflect the social positions of the parents. The state recognizing that it can improve upon education is a heartening idea, provided that it can reconstruct its social institutions in such a way as to allow egalitarianism and openness – as opposed to meritocracy and selectivity – to be the guiding principles.

A reading of the 2000s in Germany, in marked contrast to the decades prior, reveals a willingness to enact largescale, structural reforms to the education system. While these reforms were initiated largely as a result of external pressures (PISA, Bologna Process and, as always, the labor market), they suggest a malleability which bodes well for the future of educational reforms. While strong political and social currents within Germany advocate, like always, for greater responsibility at the level of the family for matters related to education, this approach is not capable of coming to terms with contemporary challenges regarding the reproduction of social inequalities. With the increased rigor of schools as a result of the condensation of the time necessary to achieve, for example, a school-leaving certificate that allows for university studies, coupled with the spread of all-day schools at the primary level, it could be fairly argued that the state has decided to play a more intensive role in shaping the education and socialization of its underage charges. If this can be combined with a greater democratization of secondary education in Germany, the future bodes well for the

minimization of education-as-ascription in the country and, by extension, could allow education to serve as the kind of great social opportunity generator that it should be.

Changes to the approaches to secondary education in India and Germany in the 2000s provide a rare opportunity for optimism. As long as the logic of each system is tied to the past, to the notion of ascription in the service of the division of labor, and to educational "winners" and "losers", the most well-meaning reforms will be unable to transform the relationship between education and society. In the final analysis, absent a push to reorient the fundamental assumptions underlying each system, reproduction and the connected ideas of violence and oppression will persist as their driving forces. To be sure, the expansion of educational opportunities that unfolded in India and Germany in the latter half of the 20th Century and the beginning of the 21st Century can be interpreted as a net positive, provided this expansion is a stepping stone to the universalization of educational opportunities.

7. DISCUSSION

*

... a proactive way forward can be discovered. Education can realize its emancipatory potential…

*

Now that the methodological, theoretical and empirical/historical considerations have been outlined in exhaustive detail, it is necessary to face head on practical problems related to the reproduction of social inequalities via education and to point out possible solutions to how the Indian and German approaches to secondary education can be adjusted so as to allow pupils to pursue a good life as opposed to a simple, narrowly defined role in the division of labor. The topical problems presented below are not exhaustive; rather, they are included here to signpost different complications in the study. The subsequent solutions might come across as audacious, naïve or both. So much is to be expected. As Chapters 5 and 6 bring to bear, however, big problems necessitate big solutions.

7.1. Problems

7.1.1. Measuring Inequality

One of the most demanding tasks for the social sciences seems to reside in identifying a sufficient method for measuring inequality. The Gini coefficient, variously adapted, has been the standard macroeconomic approach to measuring inequality for scores of years and can relay a big-picture view of how income is distributed in a given economy/society. Such data, however, should be taken with a grain of salt, because the information and analysts' information gathering processes are flawed. Piketty's (BBC News 2016) qualms with the Government of India for not releasing enough proprietary data (tax releases) are not really moral in nature; rather, he is after information that is comprehensive enough for the field to better describe inequality from a macroeconomic perspective. The first step in measuring inequality economically requires a certain faith in the veracity of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) calculations. For the present purposes, it will suffice to say that sufficiently measuring economic inequality, while an important step in understanding how a given economy performs, reveals very little about inequality as a social process.

After all, inequality is not simply an economic problem. Unequal access to different forms of capital – cultural and symbolic – works in concert with differential access to economic capital to formalize the translation of capabilities into functionings (Sen 2003). Understanding this social symphony requires going beyond the Lorenz curve (GINI). In answering the first research question – "How has social inequality been historically reproduced through Germany's and India's education systems?" – it becomes clear that simply dissecting income distribution can only lead to an insufficient answer, something along the lines of "yes, income inequality has been reproduced generationally over the decades in both countries".

By factoring in other types of inequality and even oppression, the importance of precisely measuring economic inequality lessens. One does not need perfect economic information broken down into immutable formulae to recognize the social institutions and processes which lead to differential access to socially valued activities. Any individual living in the world can at least anecdotally realize said processes. Measuring inequality reveals very little about the obscured processes which actually work to reproduce inequality. Analyzing

the historical and arbitrary division of pupils into two rough groups – the educational "haves" and "have nots" or "winners" and "losers" – can relay more about the character of inequality than can exhaustive macroeconomic analyses. Inequality was the original goal of each education system. In Germany, this inequality was geared toward the reproduction of social roles in hopes of achieving a kind of organic solidarity; in India, the dynamic of inequality was in line with oppressive, colonial visions and policies. This is not to suggest that measuring inequality is simply a fool's errand; rather, an overemphasis on measurement has produced a critical blind spot. Looking at the evolution of historical structures is much more revealing of the character of inequality, although such an analysis, because it is only tangentially related to positivism, does not carry with it the necessary scientific credentials to be considered viable.

It is difficult to measure the extent and the many faces of inequality. By limiting the definition of inequality to unequal access in opportunities to lead a good life, it can be concluded that the Indian and German education systems have fostered the historical reproduction of inequalities by and through their respective logics of division. In Germany, this logic can be traced to notions of organic solidarity brought about by the rationalized division of labor; in India, the logic can be traced to the oppressive logic of colonialism, which worked to render effective (or even rational) the division of labor in the United Kingdom. Since 1945 and 1947, both countries have sought to reorganize their education systems, but the guiding principles of each respective system have not been engaged with sufficiently. To some degree, the old legal idiom, "fruit of the poisonous tree", can be applied to both cases, at least if one holds egalitarianism and openness as significant principles in informing educational principles. How can both systems deliver on promises of equality if the historical geneses of the systems are based on either outright oppression or a not-universally/temporally-valid theory of how society works and should work?

7.1.2. Schools and the Market

Attached to the inordinate emphasis on the measurement of economic inequality is a non-critical orientation toward discussions of schools and the market. If economic inequality persists via the reproduction of social roles through education, this is merely an indication of

the imperfect juxtaposition of schools and the market. The solution, it follows, is to more optimally and rationally align activities in the classroom with the requirements of the market. This alignment, in turn, will lead to social solidarity. Everyone is taught her or his specific role in the division of labor and thus in society itself. These roles are ascribed to people based on social perceptions of both their capabilities and the needs of the market. In this context, early tracking and early vocational training in education are positive features, because they allow for instrumental rationality to play a role in matching what is to be learned with what is to be performed. Future managers can be educated as such, just as future laborers can be provided from an early age with the necessary technical knowhow to make them employable and productive in the future. While the diffusion of necessary vocational skills via education is important, the central place accorded to this diffusion in contemporary discussions has all but silenced other important educational qualities, including socialization, or, more to the point, what socialization *could* be.

The dangers in too closely associating marketization and socialization – or of allowing marketization to dictate socialization – are manifold, but the most striking criticism of such an approach is that it imbues the market with too many hopes of a moral character. This is connected to a larger epistemological problem unpacked in this dissertation's theoretical deliberations, namely that reliance on the market to deliver social justice or equality of opportunity via the so-called invisible hand is a kind of utopian line of thinking that fundamentally ignores the amorality of the market and division of labor. Market forces reward disproportionately those who have undergone the right kind of subjective transformation via education, and the character of the subjective transformation is historically determined by the very symbolic universe in which the market features so prominently. Imagining a symbolic universe in which the market plays a smaller, less decisive or ascriptive role is admittedly difficult. Nevertheless, the role of the market is essentialized and frames understandings of what it means to lead a socially valued life.

Education, because it is increasingly being reconfigured in lockstep with the perceived demands of the market, establishes the frame of reference for imaginations of a good life. Education, then, is viewed as good only if it leads to a job in the functional yet increasingly specialized and precarious division of labor. Educating a pupil for his or her future employment and role in the functional division of labor is not an inherently wicked idea. The argument here is that this seems to have become the sole criterion for normatively

evaluating a given approach to education. Will the given approach satisfy the needs of the labor market? What can be done to further satisfy the needs of the labor market? The roles played by more ethereal concepts such as symbolic violence and oppression do not feature prominently in these normative discussions, even though they are concepts that are more normatively oriented – or at least more capable of drawing attention to normative problems – than is the market.

This is all to say that the problems in education are related to the framing of important questions. For example, in answering the most fundamental question – education for what? – too many people are liable to answer: "future employment". This is important. The spread of capitalism, most recently in the form of economic globalization,[56] has arguably displaced other potential answers with this very easily comprehendible one. The conflation of educational and market goals, and the understanding that this is really how things should be, has seemingly spread across the world, making standardized, market-friendly-oriented comparisons between education systems (PISA, for example) more important and creating a problematic global benchmark of sorts for measuring efficacy. Market considerations need to be at least partially disembedded from education systems or, at the very least, from the structures of the education systems. In the context of India, this has become, since the early 1990s, a herculean task, as the explosion in the number of private schools has led to the education system there being increasingly embedded in the market.

The symbolic violence practiced upon pupils via education, or the enforced subjective transformation of pupils in line with hegemonic ideals in the form of the cultural arbitrary, is treated, if at all, as a kind of collateral damage. After all, pedagogic action is always symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Passeron 2013: 6-7). The cultural arbitrary determines the extent of the damage. This is to say that the respective cultural arbitraries in India and Germany are converging on the notion that the market is the most important, or only, consideration. This, of course, has long been the case, at least since the unification in Germany and the arrival of the British in India, although the logics of the respective markets which formed the cultural

[56] For a compelling take on the further divisions this has added to the Indian economy and social structure, see Krishna and Pieterse (2011).

arbitraries were then much different. Germany devised a system which sought to achieve industrialization while holding its population together by relying on a Durkheimian connection between society's division of labor and organic solidarity. The indigenous Indian education system was obliterated in favor of a functionalist division of a different kind, one connected to a different logic of exploitation, namely colonialism. The rationalization of the market has changed significantly since the times of British colonialism and Prussian authoritarianism, and the rationalization of education has changed with it. What has not changed, however, is the drive to rationalize education in line with the rationalization of the market.

It would perhaps make sense to rationalize education in line with market rationalization if the only determinant in leading a socially valued or good life was directly connected to one's role in the division of labor. This is why focusing instead on the division of work in society is more appropriate for arriving at a notion of a socially valued life. Complicating the matter further is the idea that there is no sufficient universalism that can relay what it means to lead a good or socially valued life. It is important to recognize that the cultural arbitrary, the framework within which symbolic violence is practiced via education, is determined by an abstraction – the market – that is amoral and is thus incapable of distributing social justice. A reorientation of the cultural arbitrary along more open-ended and less ascriptive lines, lines which allow for a modicum of particularity when it comes to imagining a good life, can allow for more value-neutral yet not amoral processes – such as egalitarianism – to take root. If egalitarianism was to displace the market as the cultural arbitrary, economic performance might suffer, but people would be allowed to seek out their own particular versions of a good or socially valued life, provided the cultural arbitrary is framed by a notion of truth or knowledge that is oriented toward a non-chimeric universalism.

7.1.3. Technology

Technology in schools is often treated as a magic bullet of sorts, the one thing that this time will finally allow education to deliver on its egalitarian promises. One does not have to dig very deep to find triumphant narratives about the transformational role of technology in the

classroom. After all, one of the world's most "successful" men, Bill Gates, was fortunate enough to have access to one of the first consumer (personal) computers during his school days, and he put his early computer education to great use. If every child in the world had access to computers, so the thinking went, then every child could become successful and change the world! This speaks, of course, to a much larger problem in narrative formation, namely that the particular is turned into proof that that a given system works (for example, the American Dream). In the same vein, gadgets have been triumphed and held up, in combination with other ideas, as examples of how the world can be transformed for the better. Pocket calculators in schools led to personal computers which have led to tablets. School administrators are seduced by the bells and whistles of the shiniest, most transformational new products, become true believers, and seek to give every child a gadget in the classroom. Alternatively, philanthropists, often with transparent motivations, "donate" gadgets to areas or schools in great need of them, with the idea being that the learning process will be revolutionized.

Classroom technology, however, represents only a highly disruptive change in the medium of instruction. Sure, some pupils will go on to tinker with code and carve out elevated positions for themselves in society's division of labor, just as some past pupils were able to move up in the world via their seemingly random "mastery" of the ink-on-paper medium. As a given technology becomes more ubiquitous as a medium, it becomes less transformational. Going back to the example of Bill Gates, his advantage likely had more to do with the fact that he had access to a computer while others did not, meaning his advantage was relational. The market rewards early adopters of some technologies, provided the early adopters can parlay their early use into mastery. Again, technology in the classroom represents a revolution in the medium of instruction, not in instruction itself. Access to more information does nothing if it is not connected to a judgment mechanism for parsing the information. This judgment mechanism is, in coarse terms, the desired product of an educational process, and the inculcation of this mechanism cannot simply be displaced by a mountain of information; rather, it must precede it. This is all to say that the prevalence of technology in the classroom does not have a direct effect on the education of the individual pupil, unless of course there is differential access to the given technology.

Technology, however, does have other effects on education. As mentioned before, the needs of the division of labor in society have strongly shaped educational policy and

approaches. Thanks to technology, this division of labor is constantly being restructured from within through a process of Schumpeterian creative destruction. This speaks to the uneasy and highly imperfect relationship between a rationalized division of labor and an education system which is rationalized in line with it. Emphasizing vocational education at the expense of, for example, humanistic education can in some cases lead to short-term harmony between a society's distribution of skills and the needs of its division of labor, at least until the next division-of-labor-transforming change takes place, whether this change stems from technological developments or changes to a state's trade policy. Technology as an input, in other words, has different effects on what happens in the economy at large versus what happens in the classroom. Some vocational "skills" laboriously learned in the classroom become obsolete upon transition into the labor market. It would be neither possible nor desirable to have education and the market (and its technologies) be in perfect lockstep, because there are things worth knowing for all people that do not translate into market success. The only thing less desirable than the perfect alignment of education and the market is a slipshod alignment of education and the market, which, based on the reading of Germany's and India's educational reforms throughout the second half of the 20th Century, is precisely the situation which obtains.

Technology in the classroom is not bad; however, it should not be viewed as the solution to all of a society's problems. Even if technology and technological knowhow could be perfectly and democratically dispersed throughout the world, it would still not be transformational enough from a pedagogical perspective to deliver egalitarianism. As it stands, uneven geographic development within and between societies has resulted in a significant digital divide. In the United States, for example, where education and technology have been paired in a kind of romantic narrative, the digital divide is particularly pronounced, and while admirable drives to ensure free access have been nominally successful, pupils from low income households – households without paid internet subscriptions – are at a distinct disadvantage in completing often mandatory online schoolwork. If the richest and, by some accounts, most wired society in the world cannot overcome the digital divide or at the very least dampen the effects of the digital divide on pupils, how can countries with less advanced digital infrastructures hope to navigate this divide? This has important implications, namely that the digital "haves" can expect to enjoy a more comprehensive and easier school education than the "have nots".

This digital divide, in terms of access to technology and the importance placed on technological fluency, has had the effect of drawing new fault lines in the symbolic universe and can thus work to strengthen the subjective and transforming chasm between the oppressor and the oppressed. Those pupils who have unfettered access to technology learn the skills necessary to find elevated places in the division of labor by having their abilities recognized. Those on the other side of the divide, because they are unable to express themselves not just in computer language but with technological devices, are rendered voiceless. If educational strategies increasingly presuppose democratic access to technology, and this democratic access does not actually exist in even the world's richest, most networked societies, then the widespread championing of technocratic educational solutions by educators, administrators and policymakers can only lead to a further subalternization of society's technological "have nots".

On the one hand, then, technology in the classroom really just represents a change in educational medium; on the other hand, it is imbued with so much transformational hope and faith that it becomes a necessary and desired feature of learning, meaning the technology is wholeheartedly embraced before it is extended to everyone in a given society. Society – however inadvertently – punishes and oppresses those who do not speak its language. What is more, the pace of technological change ensures that moments of ubiquity and obsolescence are alarmingly close together, meaning the digital divide will likely persist in any event, calling into question whether there truly can be a connection between technology and egalitarianism.

7.1.4. Teachers

It has perhaps dawned on the reader that the roles of educators have not yet been discussed in any detail. This presents an uncomfortable situation, because the roles educators play in the reproduction of inequalities via education are of central importance. The following, on account of the author's own situatedness and connection to the field, will merely represent an exploratory description and mild critique of educators and the reproduction of inequalities. At the abstract level, educators are wonderful; individual teachers, however, can be both good and bad (or both) at what they do, just as they can be tall or short, lazy or motivated, etc.

Societies ask their teachers to perform different roles and afford them different levels of respect (symbolic, cultural and economic capital).

To the latter point, India and Germany compensate their teachers differently. According to the OECD (2012), the compensation range for lower secondary teachers in Germany in 2011 was between €53,026 and €70,332 per annum (OECD 2012). For reference, the country's GDP per capita was cited at close to $48,000 per annum. By factoring in the exchange rate, the difference between average teacher remuneration and per capita income is significant. Official data about secondary school teacher remuneration in India is much more difficult to come by, which likely has much to do with the fact that private schools for the most part are able to determine how much they pay their teachers. According to one aggregated estimate, however, high school teachers in India can expect an income range of Rs113,050 and Rs517,361 per annum (payscale.com), which, factoring in exchange rates, can be significantly more than the country's GDP per capita. The fact that German educators at the higher end receive ten times the amount in pay than do their Indian counterparts at the higher end of the scale speaks more to inequality between nations than it does to anything else. In terms of relative pay, however, German and Indian secondary school educators receive similar yearly salaries. With so few private schools, most German secondary educators are tenured public servants who enjoy non-performance-based step increases and very generous public pension schemes. Public service trade unions in India and Germany have wildly differential amounts of power and are much differently organized. For the present purposes, and at risk of perpetuating a gross abstraction, it can be said that teachers unions in Germany wield much more discursive and actual power than do their Indian counterparts, a feature which can likely be deduced from the privatization (or lack thereof) of school education.

Broadly speaking, educators in India and Germany enjoy a modicum of prestige, but this is also dependent on the prestige of the particular school in which the teacher is operating, although it should be noted that this is purely speculative. Teacher absenteeism, which is described so often as a significant problem in India, is seemingly a significant problem in Germany, as well. While finding ready data exploring teacher absenteeism in Germany is difficult, estimates about public civil servants in general suggest that the average public servant "missed" nearly twenty working days per annum due to illness in 2011, forty-five percent more than their counterparts in the private economy (*Beamtenbesoldung* –

Besoldung). Elevated levels of teacher absenteeism in both places are not necessarily alarming; furthermore, they should not be surprising given the fact that teachers work in public places and are likely exposed to more airborne illnesses than are other workers. One is tempted to conclude, however, that what in India is described as a huge problem for education is in Germany shrugged off as something like the cost of doing business. Perhaps Germans are more reluctant to draw attention to absenteeism because of the higher levels of social and cultural capital enjoyed by educators, levels which can be attributed to the fear and respect associated with their unique and, in some *Länder*, formalized powers as educational gatekeepers.

While in the cities of Hamburg and Berlin, parental choice takes precedent in determining educational transitions, other locales, with the notable exception of Bavaria, which faithfully follows only the teacher's recommendation, rely on a consensus between the parents and the teacher in deciding which school the pupil should attend subsequent to the fourth grade. This means that the teachers are empowered to subjectively shape the school lives of their charges by contributing mightily to the decision to attend a particular school form. As explained before, the old tripartite structures have been significantly loosened up, but they are very much real. The power bestowed upon the teacher to make a subjective recommendation against the backdrop of meritocratic principles is especially ironic, because that very teacher's standing, remuneration, prestige, etc., are guaranteed by strictly egalitarian professional structures. The German teacher, once he or she has become tenured after a few years of experience, no longer has to worry about performance or about being exposed to questions pertaining to whether he or she merits his or her progressively rising (via standard step increases) pay.

The gatekeepers of meritocracy, the drivers behind the meritocratic tripartite system, are fully insulated from the pathologies of so-called meritocratic approaches to education. An inquisitive mind might start to wonder how this state of affairs has come to be and how it can be justified. Why should individual teacher performance, which can be so instrumental to the lives of pupils, be rendered inconsequential by political-economic factors while individual pupil performance, which realistically is not indicative of much at the tender age of nine or ten, is exposed to severe, lasting and ultimately arbitrary judgment? Why are the gatekeepers of meritocracy not duly exposed to meritocracy? In Germany, some teachers are bestowed with truly arbitrary power to enforce the cultural arbitrary. Their positions in the symbolic

universe, like their jobs, are guaranteed, and they are expected by society to serve an important enforcement and sorting role. With that kind of stress, it is small wonder that rates of absenteeism are so high.

The rise of private schools in India has resulted in an increase in heterogeneity concerning the terms of employment for educators there. The old rural-urban dividing line has not disappeared; rather, this dividing line is now complemented by other dividers, including public-private and union-non-union. These dividers interact with one another to create a complex picture of the teaching profession in India. Studies about the "efficacy" of unionized versus non-unionized workforces throughout the world have long stood as political litmus tests of sorts. This is true for India, as well, as exemplified by a study performed by Kingdon and Teal (2008) which sought to measure the "efficacy" of unionized versus non-unionized teachers at private secondary schools in India. The authors conclude: "…the achievement level of a student in a subject that is taught by a unionized teacher is about a quarter of a standard deviation point lower than his/her achievement in a subject that is taught by a non-unionized teacher" (16). While the authors are tentative in their conclusion and signpost their methodological reservations, it seems that such a conclusion is counterproductive in that it assigns the teacher too much responsibility and, with that, too much blame.

In the comparison section, the privatization of education in India was treated ambivalently, if only because a reading of the history of education in India since 1947 suggests that the state was underequipped to deal with the challenge of educating so many pupils spread out across such a large territory. In all likelihood, privatization made the passage of the 86th Constitutional Amendment of 2002 possible, and to that end, it can be viewed in a positive light. If, however, privatization is to be equated with union-busting, the program has gone too far. The right to organize in educational contexts is important in that it connects the individual educator to society. While non-unionized teachers might be nominally more effective in the short-term, alienating teachers from the public good by stigmatizing or disallowing union membership runs the risk of contributing to the diminishment of education as a public good. Private schools can serve a meaningful function provided they are connected to a larger public vision. Privatization can be viewed in a positive light as long as the privatization process is embedded in non-market institutions which serve the public good instead of the other way around. Given what institutionalists theorize about the

embeddedness of the market in institutions and what neo-institutionalists say about the increasing embeddedness of institutions in the market, privatization is a danger-fraught process. Unionization can help connect the teachers to society and the public good, if the goal of education is something more than a harmonization of an individual's capabilities with the national or international market.

7.1.5. Migration and Education

In the literature about inequality, migration is often presented as a strategy of sorts for escaping ascriptive inequality (for example, see Korzeniewicz and Moran 2009). While it is no doubt true that this can happen, migration in and of itself poses significant inequality-inducing phenomena, most pronouncedly through the difficulties in having foreign qualifications and credentials recognized (for example, see Weiβ et al 2014 and Sommer 2015). The education system does not have a direct effect on the wellbeing of migrants, unless the migrants are underage; for the longer term "success" of a familial migration strategy, however, the openness of a given education system and its connected cultural arbitrary is paramount. Germany and India have experienced vastly different migration trends throughout at least the past half-decade. Between the years 2011-2015, for example, it has been estimated that Germany had a net migration of more than +1.2 million, while India's during that same timeframe was nearly -2.6 million (World Bank: Net Migration). The numbers for Germany can likely be adjusted upwardly. While the pressures on India to absorb school-leavers into its labor market are significant, the specter of emigration works to reduce this pressure. In Germany, however, it remains to be seen whether the education system can effectively absorb first-generation, school-age migrants.

The importance of this might be self-evident, but if the tripartite system in Germany is allowed to maintain its rigidity, and if the cultural arbitrary persists in demanding that pupils be sorted at such a young age, there is a danger that the children of scores of thousands of migrants and asylum seekers who arrived in 2015 will simply be funneled into the lowest school form, the *Hauptschule*, and then into the low paid service sector. The burden on parents to navigate the school system and make informed, foundational decisions for their children is extremely high. If too few resources are invested in making sure pupils and their

parents are prepared (mentally, linguistically or otherwise) for the successful transition from primary to secondary school, there exists a very real danger that the bulk of migrant pupils will end up forming a new, potentially racialized but most certainly alienated subaltern class. If one just considers economic integration absent opportunities to lead a good life in the formal, regulated economy, a potential outcome is that an even stronger dual economy could emerge, with none of the money in the unregulated economy circling back to line the coffers of the state and allow it to fulfill its onerous welfare obligations.

If, however, the education system does indeed become flexible, open and egalitarian enough, then schools can contribute directly and positively to the social and economic integration of underage migrants. The year 2016 could very well be a critical juncture of sorts, with contemporary decisions and strategies related to education working to shape the future of Germany's social structure. The problem in India is, of course, much different, because people from different social and educational backgrounds opt to migrate to different countries for different reasons.

7.1.6. Education and the Nation-State

Modern education is, as argued in previous chapters, constitutive of the hyphen between nation and state, an idea which helps connect the notion of socialization to the idea of public management (or "the conduct of conduct"). In classical liberalism, education was necessary in that it empowered the pupil to make "enlightened" or rational decisions for him- or herself, decisions which would lead him or her to productively manage his or her own affairs and thus contribute to the state's bottom line. This liberal conception of socialization, however, represents but one side of the story. If socialization was geared first and foremost to productivity, the forced subjective transformation undergone by pupils would be easy to recreate. Alas, the symbolic universe is much more complex, but roughly speaking, socialization can be understood as the allocation of positions (and the ideas which are connected to them) within the symbolic universe.

Socialization, like education, is an inherently violent process. Pupils are not subjected to this violence solely in the name of marketization or marketability; rather, this violent

process – socialization – is designed as a defense mechanism against social pathologies, which helps to explain why democratic education received so much focus in Germany after World War II and secular and democratic education garnered so much emphasis in India subsequent to independence. This dual character of education as socialization, with operationalizable knowledge which can materially benefit the economy on the one hand and the mitigation of social harm on the other, represents a gross and obvious abstraction.

Absent educational standards of some kind, there would be a great disjuncture between education and society, society and the nation-state and the nation-state and education. What kinds of standards can be arrived at that connect education, society and the nation-state while mitigating the violence and oppression à la Bourdieu and Passeron, Spivak and Freire? Such will be the focus of the discussion in the next subsection. The list of thematic problems enumerated above is not intended to be exhaustive. The problems associated with measuring educational inequality, schools and the market, technology, teachers, migration and the nation-state are not even the most significant social challenges, at least if one broadens the thematic scope to include corruption in so-called democratic societies, actual violence, indifference to the plights of others, hierarchical divisions in terms of gender, race, ethnicity, etc. The thread holding together the comparison of postwar and post-independence national reforms to secondary education in Germany and India is that the reforms have been slow to react to the emergence of new social challenges, challenges which are not exactly universal but which are also not unique to Germany and India. Looking to the past for solutions to new and newly emerging problems is the hallmark of conservatism, and when it comes to the education and wellbeing of children, this conservatism offers little hope for leading a good life, except for those lucky enough to have been born into one. The structures of old and highly problematic approaches to social order and domination are no longer appropriate, begging the question: how can the structures of education be reconfigured so as to lead to more opportunities for all?

7.2. Solutions

This final subsection will posit solutions to the problems associated with the structures of the German and Indian approaches to secondary education. Both states have committed to ensuring universal education, and while universal access to education in Germany has been a reality for centuries, it is a vision just now being realized in India. That both places strive for universal education is commendable, but this is not enough. India and Germany had the chance to reconfigure their education systems entirely and to distance themselves from the social horrors of colonialism and fascism. They were not able to do so and thus missed an important opportunity. Such opportunities, however, need not be viewed as accidents of history. Traumas need not be reenacted in order to create new critical junctures. A critical juncture can be synthesized. Circumstances do not have to offer up a new *tabula rasa*. In democracies, reform attempts necessarily take a long time. This is not a bad thing. It would be disingenuous to suggest that the education systems as currently constituted could and should be changed overnight.

The survey of national educational reforms in Germany and India reveals one important point: neither place has really had a point of orientation for school reforms beyond the degree to which school education is harmonized with the market. Because of the vagaries of the market, however, this is not a sufficient orientation. Even if there could be complete harmonization between school and market, it would further demean what it means to be human. Since this harmonization is neither practicable nor desirable, and the results of the comparison show that oppressive historical structures serve as poor guides to the future, a new point of orientation must be found.

From the perspective of subaltern studies and critical theory, there is a paucity of ideas regarding what should be done to achieve a more humane education system. For all of their theoretical and empirical insights, for example, Bourdieu and Passeron (2013) do not offer much in the way of solutions to the problem of reproduction of social inequality via education in France. This does nothing to diminish the impact of their work; rather, it speaks to the seeming intractability of the problem. Spivak's (2012) more subversive solution – the sowing of "false hope" in the system (143) – is certainly appealing; however, subversion can

really only be deconstructive. Tyson Lewis (2006) suggests that educators become more open so as to: "deter the naturalization of hardness and coldness as virtues and in turn to explore the social anxieties arising from the scars of history" (Lewis 2006: 12). Like Spivak's recommendation, Lewis' does not go far enough.

Following Rehbein's (2015) solution for orienting a new epistemology, reform endeavors should have as their goal a good or socially valued life for everyone. For obvious reasons, the definitions of a good or socially life vary tremendously in accordance with an individual's and even a society's way of seeing and experiencing the world. The formation of the specific point of orientation can be aided by critical, democratic processes of communication and cooperation. Of primary importance, however, is the notion of openness. This can mean several things.

First, and in specific reference to school structure, openness entails an absence or significant postponement of sorting and tracking. As discussed briefly in Chapter 5, cognitive development unfolds at much difference paces depending on the individual. In the context of the German tripartite system, pupils are assigned to a secondary school form at such a young age, and the "market" for later pursuing different school-leaving certificates is so underdeveloped that there is very little hope for so-called "late bloomers".[57] This, of course, only refers to neurological factors. Environmental factors can and generally do play a larger role in deciding which secondary schools pupils attend, a fact which has led to a certain cynical hopelessness in the sociology of education and pedagogy.

With regards to neurological considerations in the Indian context, the situation is slightly different. Because exams play such a significant role in sorting pupils, a fifteen-year-old who experiences a developmental "growth spurt" has less than a year to prepare for an all-important exam which will all but decide his or her scholastic and academic future. This puts the pupil at a significant disadvantage to a peer whose cognitive development has been in lockstep with the average since age nine. This helps contextualize the feigned outrage and surprise surrounding organized cheating scandals in India. If education is presented as a way

[57] Anecdotally, there are obvious exceptions.

to overcome class, ethnic, gender and caste ascription, and the only way to achieve a "good" education is to do well on a single exam, it should come as no surprise that people will find ways around the exam. There are greater moral outrages than scamming a rigged game.

While discrimination based on gender, race, ethnicity, religion, etc., is constitutionally proscribed in both India and Germany, indirect discrimination based on cognitive development receives no legal protection. This is not to suggest that the way forward is to construct well-meaning clauses which pay lip service to the idea that people develop differently. Instead, systems of education need to be aligned with ideas of openness, meaning the educational pressure points as they presently obtain in Germany and India need to be reconfigured. In this regard, Germany and India have little to learn from one another outside of the facts that India can show Germany the unwanted effects of a pressurized exam and that Germany can show India the downsides of early-age sorting. Nevertheless, these are important points.

When it comes to allowing for differences in rates of neurological development, the best approach would be to abolish educational sorting and tracking until after the twelfth grade, meaning universal and equal education for all until the age of eighteen. This would go a long way toward leveling the playing field when it comes to heritable social status and for that reason would be a very unpopular idea amongst those who possess high amounts of cultural capital and seek to bequeath it to their children. This, in combination with better developed alternative paths to a universal school-leaving certificate for those who are unable to complete twelve grades by the age of eighteen, would help turn school education into a "socio-genetic" leveler as opposed to a "socio-genetic" reproducer. Such should be the goal of education.

Establishing universal school-leaving certificates, however, puts obvious and significant pressure on both potential employers and tertiary educational institutions to decide for themselves whom they would like to employ or enroll. These are not intractable problems. Reorienting secondary education necessitates reorienting the world of work and the role of the ivory towers in it. A reading of Soviet history reveals that Bolshevism does not offer much in the way of solutions. That being the case, even a detached analyst can recognize that attempts to revolutionize the labor market and education system in the early Soviet Union mainly failed as a result of implementation. While the Soviet experience certainly has not framed the solutions presented here, it would be disadvantageous to ignore it completely.

Second, openness in the context of social reproduction means ensuring that public education is viable and inhibits social divisions. This idea is not new and has been explored by de Tocqueville, Dewey and others in relation to democracy. The sorting function of education works to obscure the fact that people of different persuasions take part in public life and thus contribute to the public good. If one asks the right questions, anecdotes about social trauma in Germany starting between the fourth and fifth grades are easy to come across. Educational divisions lead to different kinds of social divisions, but it would be naïve to think that doing away with educational divisions would do away with all social divisions.

While it is true that different factors, including family, neighborhood and "culture", influence social reproduction, and that social reproduction is unavoidable in nominally free societies, this does not justify the persistence of social reproduction via education. Openness and equality are qualities which must be fought for. Education can make a difference. Access to all levels of it should be universal. Pupils should be given the freedom to learn from and about their peers. The middle class should not be cordoned off from the poor (and vice versa). Communication and collaboration should not be restricted to the halls of power but should be celebrated as social virtues and be nurtured in pupils throughout their extended adolescences.

Openness in secondary schools means that all pupils should be forced to comingle with other pupils from different walks of life and not be restricted to a small school-social circle based on the income brackets, ethnicity, ritual purity and/or cultural capital of the parents. Schools should be great social melting pots (or salad bowls). This is to say that all secondary schools should be mandatory and comprehensive through at least the twelfth grade. Secondary schools should no longer be divided into a tripartite or hierarchized upper/lower system. Finland's educational "success story", a fetish of sorts in the field of policy, follows a similar layout, although pupils are tracked between grades ten and eleven. Significant in Finland's case is that pupils are allowed to choose which upper secondary school form they would like to attend. The comprehensive system has not inhibited educational success. Germany and India are obviously much different from Finland in terms of scale and demographics, and suggesting that the Finish system should be transposed onto the Indian and German landscape is not a solution. The idea that comprehensive education has been proved viable, though, is important.

Finally, openness means freedom from socio-educational ascription. All schooling is symbolic violence, but it should be pointed out again that symbolic violence is a necessary

product of society. It cannot be done away with, but its effects can be mitigated. Tracking, sorting and division strengthen the ascriptive qualities of education. Universalizing school-leaving certificates would have the effect of at the very least postponing this ascription. It is not the case that schools should be a haven from society; rather, they should drive it, something which family structures, religions, employers, etc., are no longer capable of doing (if they ever were). How can schools become drivers of society, not in the sense of feeding the insatiable appetite of the economy but in terms of allowing for the open-ended pursuit a good life? This entails a long, four-stage process.

First, stigmas surrounding credentials need to be combated. As discussed in Chapter 4, post-credentialism is an interesting concept, but the abrupt abolition of credentials of all kinds would likely result in chaos (see Soviet Union 1923-24). The symbolic violence of the credential can at least be dampened. Social psychology could certainly aid in this process. Yeager and Walton (2011), for example, argue: "seemingly 'small' social-psychological interventions – typically brief exercises that do not teach academic content but instead target students' thought, feelings, and beliefs in and about school – have had striking effects on educational achievement even over months and years" (268). Findings in the field should be put to use for all pupils so as to diminish the divide between those who receive positive reinforcement and educational confidence from their parents or in their neighborhoods and those who do not.

Aiming such measures solely at pupils would not be enough. In a similar manner to how advertising functions/inculcates, all members of society should be exposed to the idea that schools – even the highest levels of them – are open to everyone and that scholastic achievement is not only possible for those pupils whose parents have achieved scholastically. This is most certainly an issue in Germany, where anecdotal evidence of this phenomenon is easy to come by. Parents who have not received the highest school-leaving certificate (*Abitur*) are hesitant to send their children to a *Gymnasium*. This "inferiority complex" can surely be proactively combatted. The realization that educated people are not more intelligent by nature but are simply lucky enough to be better educated is important. Social psychological measures are but a building block.

Next, once the stigma of credentialism has been dulled and the absurdity of educational ascription has been recognized, the work of synthesizing a new critical juncture in education can begin. Education seems to be a rallying point amongst conservatives and

even then only if traditional structures are threatened. A critical juncture, of course, cannot be recognized at the moment at which it is occurring. The idea, however, is that by spreading the ideas that schools can and should drive a society which allows for equal opportunities, a reform movement could form. This notion, combined with the present, sketchy levels of school success and the social "winners" and "losers" schools presently reproduce, would ultimately lead to an intense degree of disenchantment with the system and result in one of Söyler's (2015) "moments of epistemological understanding" (140), another form of critical juncture.

Third, this process could coalesce in the form of meaningful reforms to the respective secondary school systems. The reforms would not need to provide an answer to Macguire's (2010) question. The individuals forming the movement would be able to define what exactly a good life means. This does not mean that an education system would be constructed as such that pupils from different walks of life, families, neighborhoods, etc. (differential inputs) would come out of the system after twelve years of schooling as homogeneous, equally capable or incapable people. Instead, each pupil would have an equal opportunity to define for him- or herself what a good life entails and would have the tools to pursue it. After twelve years of schooling, pupils could decide whether to embark on vocational or tertiary training and education with the knowledge and confidence that they have enjoyed the same access to education as their peers. This would not change the fact that other factors contribute to social inequality; rather, it would simply ensure that education is not a contributing factor.

Lastly, imagining a world whereby every pupil has access to equal amounts of education via a system that is shorn of the problematic connection between the needs of the market and differential education lends itself to an optimistic vision for the future. The right to a truly equal education, for example, could be an important stepping stone to the right to a basic income. The basic income idea has been in circulation for decades. In short, the proponents of a guaranteed basic income argue that the extension of basic income provisions to all in a given society would allow individuals to pursue meaningful and social work. Guy Standing (2005), for example, lays out his optimistic vision thusly:

> …living in a society celebrating a diversity of lifestyles, constrained only by the need to avoid doing harm to others, and living in circumstances in which a growing number of people work on their enthusiasms, and pursue their own sense of occupation – combining their competencies and "functionings", varying their work status, and

> possessing the means to be responsible to their family, neighbours and wider community (2).

While Standing's take is certainly of the "left-wing" variety, it seems the idea of a guaranteed basic income is gaining support at the other end of the political spectrum, at least in the United States (Gordon 2014).

Without getting into the specifics regarding the practicability of a basic income in Germany and India, it stands to reason that non-differential access to education and uniform schools would provide pupils the opportunity to imagine a good life without having to worry about subsistence and survival. This, in turn and as Standing (2005) alluded, would allow for a significant social transformation, enabling work to displace labor as a socially valued activity. For understanding this distinction, Arendt (1958) contends: "Unlike the productivity of work, which adds new objects to the human artifice, the productivity of labor power produces objects only incidentally and is primarily concerned with the means of its own reproduction" (88).

Freeing school structures from the burdens of their own histories, doing away with the inertia of educational conservatism, and cultivating philosophers of sorts beholden only to their own self-conceptions of their social roles can foster the conditions necessary for a reimagining of the social world. Symbolic violence would no longer be practiced in the name of solidarity, oppression or elite interests but would instead be geared toward the inculcation of generalized "skills" necessary for imagining and then leading a good life. This should be the goal of education. Such a change would allow for broader social changes, namely the displacement of the long-prevailing cultural arbitrary which is predicated on the need to reproduce labor power and, with that, social inequalities.

People will always be unequal when it comes to abilities, effort and capabilities; however, his fact cannot serve as justification for the meting out of inequalities of opportunity via education. For education to deliver on its promises of a better life for all, it needs to be freed of its restrictive and ascriptive historical and social sorting mechanisms in Germany and India. Openness, inclusion and true equality of opportunity can and should become the guiding principles of a new cultural arbitrary.

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